

# PEACE NEWS

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## Public Affairs COMMENTARY

by  
"Vigilant"

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA AGAIN

THERE is every sign that the calm which has prevailed in the last few weeks in Czechoslovakian affairs is coming to a rapid end. A serious crisis between Germany and the Czechs will have world wide repercussions which will not leave British political conditions unaffected.

There was a hope that improved German-Czechoslovakian relations could be inferred from the trade agreement those countries have entered into. It now appears that Germany and Poland have also reached a trade agreement affecting the new Austrian conditions which will have very unfavourable consequences to Czechoslovakia.

Poland, like Germany, has grievances against the Czechs in the treatment of the Polish minority in the Teschen district, and since Poland and Germany reached a reciprocal agreement last November on the treatment of the German minority in Poland and the Polish minority in Germany, these two countries are likely to act in harmony in a crisis that may be expected at any time now.

This crisis may be provoked by the publication of the Nationalities Statute which is due to be presented to Parliament in the very near future. Already the German press is showing an aggressive attitude and the Sudeten Germans seem to be preparing for action against the "injustice" they expect to find in the Nationalities Statute.

It looks pretty certain that the Sudeten Germans will not get the autonomy they demand, neither does it appear likely that the Czechoslovak Government will drop out of the Russian-French Alliance in which the Reich Germans see the biggest threat to their security and over which there is serious and genuine concern in the minds of the Czech-Germans.

### EASTERN EUROPE Economic Power Politics

THE Germans are making a concerted economic drive down the Danube. A German Government delegation is now touring the Danubian countries with a view to setting up a purely Danubian Commission under their own control in place of the International Danubian Commission.

The German economic drive into eastern Europe is not only natural in itself but has been hastened by the steady policy of encirclement and economic exclusion now being followed against Germany all over the world.

A year ago a country as distant as Brazil concluded a trade agreement with the USA which promised to protect the Brazilian market for American goods against outside competition subsidized by governments. This was directed exclusively against Germany and she is being kept out of a market which she has always regarded as potentially important.

Further, as a result of the visit of the French Ministers to this country in April last, when a military entente was concluded, economic cooperation of the closest kind was also planned, aimed chiefly at German expansion.

In consequence of this visit Departmental  
(Continued on Back Page.)

## MORE MILITARISM IN SCHOOLS

### Career Lectures by Retired Naval Officers

By WILFRED WELLOCK

THE article which appeared in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago on army officers visiting schools with a view to the formation of Junior OTCs, has brought me a cutting from the *Southern Daily Echo*, which consists of a half-column report of a discussion in the Southampton Education Committee on whether retired naval officers should be permitted to visit schools in order to talk to boys, in school hours, on the Royal Navy as a career.

There was keen opposition to the proposal in the committee, and, so far as this report goes, all the argument was on the side of the opponents of the proposal, although they lost the day by fourteen votes to ten.

#### BAD FOR EDUCATION

Alderman T. Lewis cogently argued that matters of this kind were outside school activities, and should be relegated to the Juvenile Advisory Committee. "If the time of children in school was occupied by such matters it was to the detriment of education."

Councillor R. J. Stranger who supported the proposal, assured the committee that the speakers were chosen by the Admiralty.

As usual, the value of "a bit more of the discipline of the services in the schools" was voiced, this time by Alderman A. E. Udall.

But it was Councillor J. H. Matthews who got down to the roots of the matter. He said

"They had an organization working to tell boys leaving school what careers were available. The job was being done well, and if they were going to allow people to come pushing certain careers they might have others following. The Juvenile Advisory Committee and the Employment Exchange special staff were giving boys advice about careers, and that was better than their being misled by any romantic stories."

If you advise boys about all careers you are doing the job more efficiently than by letting loose retired Admirals on the schools.

#### OPINION DIVIDED

It is not sufficiently realized that, in proposals of this kind, a position of privilege is being sought for careers about which there is a sharp division of opinion in the country, having its roots in widely opposing views in regard to the principles of foreign policy.

The advocates of a constructive peace policy must inevitably be opposed to war, the creation of a powerful military machine, and, of course, to army and navy officers being allowed to try to attract their boys into the fighting services.

On the contrary, they will claim the right for prominent pacifists to be allowed to lecture to boys on careers which have the merit of achieving security and peace in all walks and relationships of life by constructive and sacrificial rather than destructive means.

It is therefore of the greatest importance that what appears to be a new attempt to militarize our schools shall be frustrated.

I shall accordingly be glad to be informed, if possible by means of newspaper reports, of any other cases of this kind. The action to be taken to try to stop such a pernicious and unjustifiable practice will, of course, depend upon the evidence.



Wilfred Wellock

Photo by E. H. & H. E. Fletcher

### A MESSAGE TO YOU FROM CHINA

A LETTER written to a correspondent by a friend in Canton, China, while Japanese bombers were flying overhead, gives a vivid picture of the bombing of civilian populations.

The writer appeals for a mobilization of public opinion "against this form of warfare, so that a halt may be called to these ruthless activities which have certainly been allowed to continue long enough."

The letter states:

During the past fortnight more than 150 business and residential sections of Canton have been bombed, and at least 10,000 innocent men, women, and children must have been blasted to death, horribly maimed beyond recognition, or permanently disfigured by these bombings.

I have seen mothers carrying babies on their back killed outright by bomb splinters while running away from their falling homes. I have visited places near the fish and vegetable markets that have been destroyed, strewn with blood and bits of human bodies presenting a most pathetic and ugly appearance; and I have just come back from visiting a four storeyed tea-shop, levelled down as the result of a direct hit, with more than a hundred and fifty people taking shelter there buried alive. All these ghastly scenes will always remain with me as the most inhuman outrages committed on a civilian population by wanton aerial attacks.

"We must also remember," comments our correspondent, "that this is what RAF men will be expected to do to 'enemy' cities."

### Don't Miss

the Peace Pledge Union coach travelling from Carlisle to London in connexion with the Manifesto campaign next week

LEAVING CARLISLE — TUESDAY  
ARRIVING LONDON — SUNDAY  
(For details see page 12.)

If You Live in London  
meet the coach on arrival and go to  
Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon.

### GERMAN DESIRE FOR PEACE

"Helped to End Czech Crisis"

—French Premier

A STATEMENT which seems to indicate that the recent tension over Czechoslovakia was eased, not by any concerted threatening of Germany, but by the willingness to cooperate of Germany herself, was made by M. Daladier, French Premier, in Paris on Tuesday evening.

The irreparable disaster in which the strain had threatened to involve the nations had been averted, said M. Daladier, thanks to the cooperation of nations of good will. In that cooperation the resolution of Great Britain and France for peace had met that of other nations, notably, it was his duty to say, Germany.

"I will add," he said, "that the French Government was anxious on that occasion to show their faith in the peaceful aspirations to which the Chancellor of the Reich has always publicly laid claim."

Later M. Daladier said that their recent experience allowed them to have faith in the future. What had been done once could be done again until there was a final settlement of the question in dispute.

### Million People May Be Left Without a Country

#### HOW OTHER LANDS CAN AID REFUGEES

By a former leader of the Austrian  
Fascist Movement

IN Germany the number of Jews before March 13 was 0.9 percent of the population, and today is certainly less. But the number in the former Austria is relatively far higher, about 4.5 percent—almost 300,000.

In this figure are included the "non-Aryan Christians," and those married to Jews, whose existence is also endangered.

Following a declaration by Field-Marshal Goering that "Germans and Jews cannot live together," more than a million "non-Aryans" will be compelled to emigrate in the near future, if they want to avoid suicide or slow degeneration.

It is probable that the Nazi movement will change its attitude in the course of  
(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1.)



## REFUGEE PROBLEM

(continued from page 1, col. 4)

years, as the chief objective of the programme is to rid the nation of Jews.

NOT JUST A  
MINORITY PROBLEM

The question cannot be judged as a minority problem—in most cases there are great States behind the minorities—but it is a question of pity for completely unprotected people condemned to destruction.

This age of wars of extermination and aerial bombardments, however, is hardened enough to accept such a state of affairs passively, especially when it only concerns persecuted men on the edge of poverty.

All the more should we value President Roosevelt's action in having taken the initiative in regulating Jewish immigration into his country. It is quite certain that the Jews in Germany, even if it means the sacrifice of the remains of their wealth, want to leave the country as quickly as possible, if only they are allowed to enter another country.

SMALL PROSPECTS  
IN PALESTINE

By reason of the tension between Arabs and Jews, which is certainly fostered by outside Powers, any considerable settlement in Palestine is scarcely possible. Many countries where unemployment is great will, for material reasons, grant no considerable immigration rights, even when relations, or distress committees want to contribute toward the founding of a new life.

But, as there are many qualified workers among the refugees who can even help in the building up of new branches of production, it would be possible for many States, were they willing, to give information to the Relief Committees for Emigration in Berlin, Vienna, &c., as to what quotas of specialists they are prepared to consider for visas.

IMPORTANCE OF  
PASSPORTS

Of great significance was the founding of Jewish settlements in thinly populated States, as for instance in Canada, South America, and Australia.

Many young people are ready to settle, but in many cases instruction in agricultural work would be necessary in Europe. For this, instruction centres should be built where the emigrants could stay for a year or half a year.

These camps could continually be taking new groups, as the problem, unfortunately, will be a real one for a long time, because only 1,500 people have left Austria so far.

Of particular importance is the regulation of passports for immigrants. Germany disclaims all responsibility for refugees who become stateless.

The need for an international regulation of passports (as, for instance, the so-called Nansen passports) to be agreed upon in Evian is a life and death question for refugees.

Many terrible tragedies have occurred through loss of nationality, as these people cannot generally obtain visas, and are continuously rejected by all countries.

WHAT EVIAN CONFERENCE  
SHOULD DO

Pacifists of all lands wish the conference in Evian, for reasons of humanity, complete success, because the numerous suicides of Jews in Vienna, Berlin, and the other towns of Germany have shocked the conscience of the world.

In addition, an important relaxation of tension could be achieved by a quick settlement of the refugee problem. The mere setting up of sub-committees for the study of the questions could by no means be considered a satisfactory conclusion to the conference.

The conference must aim at some clarification of the conditions under which Germany is prepared to permit "non-Aryans" to emigrate. Present emigration is made difficult by the long delay in waiting for papers, and by the confiscation of almost the whole of the emigrants' property.

But if other countries take the initiative in offering help to these refugees, it is to be hoped that Germany will not take upon herself the odium of ruining all hope of a reasonable and humane settlement of the problem of refugees.

(Work of the Evian Conference—page 15.)

## Parliamentary Notes

LABOUR SUPPORT FOR MORE ARMS SPELLS  
DANGER TO SOCIAL PLANS

HAS the Opposition considered all the implications of the deputation which it sent last week to wait on Mr. Chamberlain at the House of Commons? The press assures us that on account of deficiency of anti-aircraft guns, of ARP plans and in other air departments the Labour Party accused the Government of "lack of vision and incompetence."

The Labour Party is increasingly hopeful of victory at the next election. Is it really prepared to go to the country with the cry of further increases in the already bloated armaments programme?

I have shown at various times in these notes that we are already committed to intolerable financial burdens by our various arms programmes. If "vision and competence" means still heavier burdens, how is the money to be found for the great programme of social amelioration which

"Franco Victory  
Dangerous for  
Britain"

—MILITARY EXPERT

THE view that "a friendly Spain would be most desirable—a neutral Spain indispensable" was expressed by Captain Liddell Hart, Military Correspondent of *The Times*, and author of many well-known military works, in an article in the French Conservative newspaper *L'Ordre*, on June 23.

Following are extracts from a translation of the article:—

By its geographical position, the Iberian Peninsula is almost as important to us as it is to France. The question must therefore be asked and faced squarely: what the strategic consequences would be if Spain were the ally of our enemies.

## GIBRALTAR UNTENABLE

In the first place it is obvious that Gibraltar as a naval base would become untenable. The anchorage there is limited and the depth of water increases abruptly.

A few batteries rapidly installed on the Spanish side would render the anchorage untenable.

We should then have not a single British base between England and Alexandria, a distance of 3,000 miles.

This would be so serious as to relegate to second place the question whether our squadrons would even be able to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar in order to enter or leave the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, this question of an entrance to and exit from the Mediterranean is complicated by the possibility of the naval and air bases of the east coast of Spain and the Balearic Islands being at the disposal of our enemies.

There are still further dangers to be considered. The possession of bases of operations on the north-west and south-west coasts of Spain would enable enemy submarines and seaplanes to threaten the route to the Far East, the Cape route and even the sea routes to England. The danger would be increased if the enemy occupied the Canary Islands.

## ROLE OF INTERVENTIONISTS

An analysis of the military events of the civil war enables us to realize the leading role which has been played by foreign intervention.

The fatal consequence is that General Franco is becoming more and more dependent on the States which provide him with supplies.

It is quite probable that he will end by becoming their tool; which would mean that in the event of a war in which we were engaged on the other side, the naval and air bases of Spain would be in enemy hands and the whole structure of our imperial defences would be undermined.

Anyone who pays the slightest attention to the lessons of history can only conclude that it would be an act of stupid credulity to expect a change of attitude from these same parties after the support which Germany has given them during the civil war.

## WILL NEED GERMAN AID

The British Government has always taken the utmost care to avoid showing any manifestation of sympathy for the Republican Government, which has not prevented it from being accused of being "in the service of the Reds."

In April, 1937, General Queipo de Llano declared at the microphone: "Our victory will determine once and for all the collapse of Great Britain." Evidently this gentleman is unusually indiscreet, but there are abundant proofs, positive and negative, which show that he is not the only one of this way of thinking.

It must not be forgotten either that, General Franco, if he wins, will need German arms and German organization to keep power.

will make the main ground on which the Labour Party will state its case to the nation?

## Shock for Farmers

BUT the Government often finds itself in even a greater quandary than the Opposition. Its supporters are counting the cost of its promised schemes, and the farmers in particular are thoroughly dissatisfied.

A reply on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture on Thursday of last week promised plans for increasing the acreage of arable land for food production in the event of war.

The promise might have sounded attractive to the agricultural interests, had their resentment not being stirred by the Prime Minister's speech at Kettering.

There Mr. Chamberlain had frankly said that this country must not expect to be able to produce its own food supplies in war.

Indeed any attempt to do so, said the Premier would destroy our capacity to sell manufactured goods to the people abroad who now bought them with the agricultural produce which they sent to us.

All this would mean an increase of unemployed in the manufacturing industries. These would thus be unable to buy the goods of farmers, which the farmers could no longer send abroad.

The Prime Minister's speech was good sound economic argument, especially for a protectionist like himself. But it was rather unexpected for the farmers.

The farmers are perhaps beginning to realize that though a Minister for Agriculture can promise them a bigger acreage as an act of war preparation, he cannot necessarily make it contribute to a bigger prosperity for the farmers also.

## More Millions

PERHAPS the most interesting of the efforts of politicians to count the cost of the policy which this nation is following was that made by Mr. Amery.

Speaking on the Board of Trade Vote, he

said we could not continue to sustain our £2,000,000,000 budget (Mr. Garvin used to say a thousand million budget would break us) without a vigorous and prosperous industry behind it.

But when one came to examine how Mr. Amery proposed to secure such a happy result, it was all to be done by kindness—kindness to our ship owners in the form of more subsidies.

We must protect our trade and shipping, he said, as we had been forced to strengthen our naval and military resources.

Thus we are to sustain our £2,000,000,000 budget by adding to it more millions still. To such a pass has this madness of armaments brought Mr. Amery!

## War Office and Privileges

NOT much more was to be made out of the report of the Committee of Privileges by the further time devoted to it in the House. Mr. Churchill, however, shed a little new light on the matter from his own rich experience.

Speaking as a former Minister for War, he dismissed the notion that the military court, which tried to bring Mr. Sandys before it, was "a responsible body in itself with no higher authority behind it." The War Office, said Mr. Churchill, was no automatic machine. It knew what was going on.

That was saying, as near as might be, that the War Office itself ought to be on trial for the breach of privilege.

As for Mr. Hore-Belisha, Mr. Churchill could not understand why he did not rise in his place and frankly accept the responsibility for an act of officers who are only obeying orders of a higher authority.

The War Office has a bad reputation. Mr. Hore Belisha's silence did not improve it.

James H. Hudson

## Points from Answers

**Sir Robert Hodgson's Report.**—Summarizing the report concerning the reply from rebel authorities Sir John Simon said on July 4 that the reply maintained that ports were legitimate military objectives, but strongly restrained any intentions to single out British ships as objectives for attack.

The reply made certain proposals for according immunity from attack to a port to be agreed upon. It concluded by emphasizing the authorities' readiness to make proposals which may be helpful in establishing new laws of war for the future.

**Bombing of British Ships.**—On July 5 Mr. Butler said that he was not prepared to refer the matter of the bombing of British ships to the League of Nations.

**Non-Intervention Committee.**—Mr. Butler said on July 5 that the Non-Intervention Committee was considering that afternoon the scheme for the withdrawal of foreign volunteers and that it could be put into operation as soon as acceptance of the two parties in Spain had been communicated to it.

## British Investments.

The only information I have on these subjects relates to the nominal amount of capital invested in Hong-Kong, Shanghai, and China by individuals and institutions domiciled in the United Kingdom. With regard to securities quoted on the London markets, the nominal value of these was estimated by Sir Robert Kindersley to have amounted to £41 million at the end of 1936. This figure does not include the considerable amount of unquoted and private investments also held in the United Kingdom. The inclusion of these would probably bring the total to approximately £130 million. (Mr. Stanley, July 5.)

## Anglo-Italian Agreement.

The Government has repeatedly stated that it is not in a position to give full effect to this agreement, which is not made subject to ratification, until they can regard the Spanish question as settled. At the same time the Government is anxious to see the agreement brought into force at the earliest possible date consistent with the above-mentioned condition. (Mr. Chamberlain, July 6.)

**Disarmament Conference.**—Mr. Butler said on July 4 that no decision had yet been taken by the Government as to the instructions for the British representatives for the September meeting of the Bureau of the Disarmament conference.

**Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace.**—Mr. Butler said on July 4 that the Inter-

national Convention for the use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace was signed at Geneva on September 23, 1936, by representatives of 28 governments, of whom eight subsequently proceeded to ratification. Three other countries had acceded. An invitation to attend the conference was extended to non-members of the League and the convention was open to accession by all countries. Mr. Butler added that the Government, having ratified the convention, would observe its provisions.

**Arms Exports.**—Mr. Stanley circulated a table on July 5 showing the total declared value of arms and munitions exports during the three months ended May, 1938, to be £539,625.

**"Humanizing" Warfare.**—Stating that he was not yet in a position to make a full statement on the reply of the Spanish insurgents regarding the bombing of British ships, Mr. Chamberlain said on July 7, that the Burges authorities had intimated their intention to make practical proposals with the object of humanizing warfare as far as possible—"and I need hardly say that his Majesty's Government will give any such proposals their most sympathetic consideration."

**Execution in Palestine.**—Referring to the execution of Shlomo Ben Joseph, of Rosh Pinah, Mr. MacDonald said on July 6 that there were Jewish demonstrations before or after the execution in four centres, which resulted in thirteen known cases of injury and 34 arrests. It was possible that some of the acts of violence of the last two days had been due in part to feelings aroused by this execution.

**International Commission.**—Mr. Butler said on July 4 that the Spanish Government had been informed that the British Government were making every endeavour to arrange for the formation of a commission to proceed to France at an early date. Consultations were still being carried on with a number of governments, and he regretted that he was not, therefore, in a position to make any further statement at that stage.

**Basque Children.**—On July 7 Sir Samuel Hoare said that the number of Basque children who had been repatriated was 2,006.



## Czechoslovakia

## Raw Materials Problem Behind Demands For Autonomy

### ACHIEVEMENTS OF A BIG "SMALL NATION"

By GEORGINE CLAYBERG

An American Correspondent in Czechoslovakia

CZECHOSLOVAKIA might be called "an oasis of democracy in a desert of dictatorships and monarchies." It is ranked among the small nations and yet in many ways it is big.

From west to east it is as long as the whole of Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to the Gulf of Danzig, or as England from the Orkneys to Plymouth. Culturally, its achievements since the War have been striking. Since Czech independence (October 28, 1918) schools have been established all over the country, for the minorities in their respective languages as well as for the Czechs and Slovaks.

Seventy years ago Prague did not possess a Czech theatre. Now there is not only the National Theatre and the Municipal Theatre but at least nine others, as well as many cinemas. Among the playwrights the best known perhaps are the brothers, Karel and Josef Kapek (of whose *Insect Play* a revival is again running in London).

"The social structure of Czechoslovakia has special features of its own," says a pamphlet on the country published in Prague.

#### CARTELS AND COOPERATIVES

"Private enterprise developed after the year 1918 in the direction of a growth of the financial institutions which control a majority of the biggest industrial concerns and which form cartels and trusts of the kindred undertakings.

"The cooperative system is highly developed. In 1934 there were 17,021 cooperative stores and 83 central cooperative organizations in the republic."

There is almost complete equality of the two sexes. The first Czech High School for Girls was established as early as 1840, but it was not until after Czechoslovakia's independence that women secured the franchise.

Of the struggle for independence itself, Karel Kapek has written as follows:

During the last hundred years the Czechs and the Slovaks had to struggle, consciously and desperately, for their national existence, and for their language . . . against the Austro-Germans and against the Magyars. Germans and Magyars were the agents who carried out the policy of the Hapsburgs.

The struggle was an exhausting, embittered daily fight against denationalization, against a humiliating and unjust regime. During the Great War there was added to all that a brutal regime of terror, mass executions, and prisons filled with Czechs and Slovaks from the leaders of the nation down to women and girls.

On October 28, 1918, this nation of rebels

won its freedom, but it took no revenge: not a single window was broken, not a drop of blood was spilt. Two or three days after the revolution, the heads of the Czechoslovak Government offered seats in the Convention Parliament to the German minority.

It is true that this new government closed some German schools in the west, either because these schools were "Germanizing" the children or because there were too many; but many more were opened in the east.

#### PROBLEMS BEHIND AUTONOMY DEMANDS

The suggested autonomy that is discussed so much today is, I think, impossible for many reasons.

One is that if the 3,000,000 Germans living in the mountains between Germany and Czechoslovakia were joined with Germany the natural frontier between the two countries would be taken away from Czechoslovakia. Secondly, there are many Czechs living in this same region.

After all, is autonomy the real issue? If Poland should become a democracy would not Hitler begin making a fuss over the Germans in Poland?

And if Hitler could get to the Ukraine some other way as easily as through Czechoslovakia, and if he had all the raw materials he needed in his own country, what about autonomy then?

Meanwhile, to this city of Prague Austrian refugees have been coming in droves. One Jewish family had their factory confiscated. They "paid" for it, but their money was taken away from them at the border. They are staying at my hotel.

One is not allowed to visit any factory—cooperative or private—without a permit from the Minister of Defence, which, if given at all, means weeks of waiting. Eighteen factories in the Sudeten area have appealed to the Government for help; otherwise they will have to close down. The managers say that the workers hear so much Nazi propaganda, that they go out so much at night, and that they have so many parades that the work suffers.

What will happen? Czechoslovakia is arming, but so is every other country. One thing is sure: the Czechs have tasted freedom, their country is beginning to grow and expand, and they are a determined people. They will not be conquered easily.



A general view of Prague

## India

## VILLAGERS LEARN TO READ & WRITE

ENCOURAGING results are following the village literacy campaigns of the Bengal and Bombay Students Federations. In groups of six, students tour the villages, teaching the population to learn to read and write.

In addition they talk on day-to-day problems and the history of the peasant movement. Research is made into village conditions and statistics collected; physical training is given and country games popularized.

Gramophone records, lantern slides, and wall newspapers are used to interest the villager in current topics and to broaden his mind.

## Canada

## YOUTH CONGRESS IMPRESSES ADULTS

A big impression was made on adult opinion by the third Canadian Youth Congress, held in Toronto. Especially was this so in the case of adults who attended the sessions.

The congress was attended by 567 delegates, representing 469 organizations. These included 127 religious organizations, 51 trades unions, 52 students' organizations, and 49 political organizations.

## Switzerland

## SIMPLON TUNNEL AS SHELTER

Preparations are being made to turn the Simplon tunnel, one of the longest in the world, into an air raid shelter in the event of war.

In addition, supplies of munitions are being stored in chambers cut in the rock of the tunnel (reports *World Events*).

## Australia

## "Spend Money on Good-Neighbour Policy"

### Women's Alternative to Arms

EVERY member of the Australian House of Representatives and of the Senate has received from the Australian branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a protest against the spending of £43,000,000 on war preparations.

"We maintain," declares the WIL, "that this is no effective defence, and regard it as an indication of the bankruptcy of statesmanship on the part of our political leaders.

"Competent judges being in agreement that an armament race can only end in general disaster, we as citizens repudiate participation in such a race, and we call on all Australians of good will to press for the initiation of a good-neighbour policy, not as a theory but as a practical scheme, to be implemented with such large sums of public revenue as are now proposed to be sunk in copying old-world militarism."

## New Zealand

## CHURCHMEN PROPOSE "MINISTRY OF PEACE"

Clergy and laity of various denominations, at the inaugural meeting of the Christian Pacifist Society in Christchurch, adopted a resolution urging on the Premier and Government of New Zealand their view that "rearmament preparations can only lead to one logical conclusion—war; and that peace cannot be secured by warlike preparations."

The resolution went on to suggest immediate formation of an active Ministry of Peace.

It is hoped that this new society will result in a revival of pacifism within New Zealand churches.

### Militarism to Remain in College

A motion for the abolition of military drill in the Technical College at Christchurch was lost after discussion by the Board of Governors, despite the fact that (as reported in *PEACE NEWS* some weeks ago) headmasters in New Zealand have no legal right to impose such training.

During the discussion of the proposal by the governors, one speaker maintained that the abolition of military drill would be an interference with the liberty of the pupils!

## U. S. A.

## STUDENTS MAINTAIN OPPOSITION TO WAR

### Basic Unity Despite Differences

ALTHOUGH it refuses to compromise its conviction that war is wrong and that it cannot cure the world's ills, the Student Peace Service of the American Friends' Service Committee is finding it possible to work with others in the American peace movement who do not take this line in regard to programme and action.

The recent Washington meeting of the National Peace Conference, which dealt with world economics, resulted in a clash between divergent groups. But, on the other hand, it indicated many points on which agreed united action was possible. These included:

Support of reciprocal trade agreements; Prevention of exploitation in colonial areas; Cooperation with the League of Nations and the International Labour Office; Opposition to the arms race; and Diversion of armament funds into low-cost housing and education.

Thus there is room for common action in the colleges, and the news-sheet of the Student Peace Service reports widespread

opposition to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and conferences on international relations.

The news-sheet also gives a fair picture of the divergencies which exist in student opinion. As an example of this may be cited the statement (reported in *PEACE NEWS* three months ago) in which young Methodists opposed the American super-navy and declared themselves in favour of non-cooperation with the Government.

This attitude, according to the organization for young communists, was "academic and faulty illusion." Nevertheless, the pacifist attitude of complete opposition to all war preparations has many active adherents among students.

Commenting on the differences within the peace movement, *World Events* says that "there remains a basic unity which should be fostered and not destroyed. An infinite fund of kindness, generosity, and good will will aid in fostering this unity in diversity."

## F.P.S.I. SUMMER CONFERENCE

At BEACON HILL SCHOOL, TIMSBURY (near Bath)

From Saturday (tea), July 30th, to Saturday (breakfast), August 6th

## Programme

HAROLD BING on "INDIVIDUAL WAR RESISTANCE"

Dr. BRAIN ROCKSTRO on "SUNBATHING"

A. E. DOUGLAS-SMITH on "EDUCATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP"

E. F. M. DURBIN on "RESTATEMENT OF THE CASE FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM"

BARBARA LOW on "SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES OF WORLD UNREST"

NORMAN HAIRE on "THE ART OF LOVE"

Mrs. CLARA RACKMAN on "PENAL REFORM IN 1938"

W. B. CURRY on "HAS LIBERALISM A FUTURE?"

G. T. GARRATT on "THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION"

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Inclusive Fees: Members, 52/6; Non-Members, 62/6

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# NEW BOOKS

## WELFARE, NOT PUNISHMENT

English Juvenile Courts. By Winifred A. Elkin. Kegan Paul. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by  
Eileen L. Younghusband

MISS ELKIN is that lucky person, the onlooker who sees most of the game. Equipped with a wide knowledge of the problems of juvenile delinquency she has recently visited a representative number of the English juvenile courts, and the result of this happy, though rare, combination of experiences is a book which is not only full of interest for those not specialists in its subject, but which also contains an artfully compounded mixture of *bonne bouches* and scorpions for those whose ways do lie in the courts.

No-one will read this book without being left with an uneasy sense that a benevolently designed machine is, for the want of proper steering, often passing like the wheels of Juggernaut over the lives of many children who come before the courts: children whose welfare, not punishment, should be the courts' aim, first, last, and all the time.

But welfare, as Miss Elkin insists, requires imagination, understanding of children and their emotional conflicts, first-hand knowledge of the available forms of treatment and lastly, an insight into the particular needs of every different child appearing before the courts, together with the wisdom to decide which of the available forms of treatment is most likely to succeed with that particular child, given the child's own make-up, his family and social setting.

In proportion as such understanding exists the spirit that would "teach the young devil not to do it again" must wither, for it is one of the most valuable services of Miss Elkin's book to point out again and again, in closest contact with the realities of the situation, the uselessness of punishment alone either to reform or to deter wayward children.

The treatment available for young offenders is in itself on sound lines, though vitiated by many gaps and inadequacies, and by lack of information as to its after-effects.

Miss Elkin rightly emphasizes the impossibility of successfully dealing with juvenile delinquency unless the problem is handled scientifically, both in the intensive study of individual difficult children by experts and in the extensive study of the after results of various methods of treatment; together with an analysis of the probable reasons for the relative success of failure of different methods with different types of offenders.

The Home Office is at present engaged upon an inquiry into the causes of juvenile delinquency, a subject which possesses a fatal fascination both for official bodies and for private individuals. It may be suggested that our existing knowledge of many probable causes outstrips our will to remedy them and that we should be better employed in turning the searchlight of science on to the thick darkness which surrounds the offender after he has passed through the courts.

There are only three small criticisms to qualify the praise due to this admirable book. Firstly, that many horrific stories of magisterial misdeeds are counterbalanced by only one of wise handling. Do we not learn as much from the thing done rightly as from that done wrongly? Secondly, in a discussion of the reasons in favour of transferring cases of non-attendance at school to the juvenile courts, no foot-note has been added to say that this was done in May. And lastly, a lament that a book which will be, for some years to come, the standard work in the subject of its title should be published at a price beyond the means of many who will most wish to possess it.

## BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

The Middle Way. By Harold Macmillan, M.P. Macmillan. 5s.

This attempt to find a "middle way," not so much between communism and fascism (as the symbols on the cover suggest), as between socialism and capitalism, commends itself by its unusual seriousness and sincerity.

Mr. Macmillan's writing has not that dogmatic, "doctrinaire" note that disfigures much that comes from the pen of

would-be social reformers, and it impresses the reader with its attempt to be genuinely "scientific."

At the same time, he is far more in earnest about meeting the real social needs of England than is the average Conservative, and admits the necessity of far more radical measures than, for instance, heavy taxation.

His "middle way" between capitalism and socialism is, briefly, a proposal to allow free private enterprise in industries in the earlier stages of their development, but to bring in socializing measures wherever free competition results in such evils as "redundancy." This is the essence of his policy, though it is, of course, combined with other features.

One of the main defects in Mr. Macmillan's point of view is that he shows no clear idea of the precise type of industries in which further expansion is possible today without producing "redundancy," i.e., competition of a wholly useless kind.

It is not difficult to see that the main industries where further expansion is possible today are ones of a kind which we do not ordinarily describe as "industries" at all—activities like education and art. The mere fact that an artificial "boom" can be to some extent created by expenditure on armaments indicates that the development of superficially "useless" industries is a large factor in the production of economic progress all round. (It is important that pacifists should realize that this is the true moral of the apparently beneficent economic effects of expenditure on armaments.)

One significant fact about these "industries," which are capable of further expansion, is that they very often need state financing in order to flourish properly (this is true, for example, of education).

This fact seems to tell against Mr. Macmillan's thesis that industries, which are capable of expansion without resulting in "redundancy," can still be best left to the enterprise of private capitalists.

CLARE PRIOR

## PERSONAL PLEASURES IN RUSSIA

Everyday Life in Russia. Compiled by Bertha Malnick. Drawings by Pearl Binder. Harrap. 12s. 6d.

A recent propaganda publication of the Group Movement was filled with pictures of smiling faces. So is this book. So are most family snapshot albums. The camera breed smiles and its products are not reliable testimony to the internal happiness of a religious body, a nation or a family.

Statistics of happiness, in fact, are difficult to collect and we are always inclined to reject any that may be offered when we are sceptical about the social system or spiritual assumptions within which happiness is said to flower.

Miss Malnick is a Cambridge research scholar who has spent a great part of eight years in Russia. This book, made up of extracts from letters, newspapers, advertisements, and public notices, gives on the whole a very pleasant picture of Russian social life. Without rejecting its testimony one can be fairly sure that another less pleasant selection could be made, just as we can each see our own lives as fruitful or thwarted according to the mood of the moment.

But one is not confined to the statistical method. Instead of weighing hours of happiness and unhappiness one can use the intensive method and look for the evidence of growth of personality in individuals and for the social perception of rulers in the originality of their institutions. And if such evidence proves no political thesis, at least it gives one's sense of humanity a certain reassurance.

"Lots of beautiful salads," writes a young mother at a rest home. "Personally I'm all for beef-steaks, but I don't get encouraged."

A sixteen-year-old girl writes in her diary: "I began to compare Pushkin's verse and my unhappy drawing. I realized that I'd spent a lot of time on some of the details without making them into a whole."

It is reported of the Moscow Industrial Academy that "the students are all well-known people—far better known than their teachers."

Finally, a man writing about his wife, who travels a great deal to get material for writing: "Why should I mind her going off when she comes back livelier, more impudent and engaging, than before. I want a companion, not a mattress."

This is, at the least, not machine-made propaganda, and demands a place in one's picture of Russia.

A. C. STANILAND

## RELIGION AND LIFE

God, Commonwealth and After-life. By Basil Viney. Lindsay Press. 1s.

Written by a member of the Peace Pledge Union, this little book is a declaration of the author's convictions about religion and life and the relationship between them. It is intended for those who, although dissatisfied with both orthodoxy and secularism, are still seeking a spiritual home.

The three words in the title contain the essence of Mr. Viney's creed. In elaborating the first article of his belief he deals with the question of free will, asserts his faith in the essential goodness of men and expresses his certainty of God.

Free will, he suggests, is the power to decide which of our rival impulses we shall let through into conduct although this is limited by our inheritance and our past habits. Though believing in the goodness of the average man he clearly shows it to be insufficient, emphasizing the need for a reorientation to life and a moral conversion.

That religion and life are inextricably interwoven is his next point, and he indicates the deficiencies of institutional religion—"there are still some churches that see the devil in every brewer and the true patriot in the arms merchant and the imperialist member."

Dealing with the supreme authority of kindly impulses he explains his own pacifist beliefs, which differ slightly from the orthodox in regard to sanctions.

After stating his position on the question of eternal life he points out the two things needful for such a life which begins here and now—a ready kindness, and interests that touch the eternal verities and so enrich intercourse.

P. PITMAN

## SIMPLE PSYCHOLOGY

Psychology and Modern Life. By Cyril H. Valentine. S.C.M. Press. 1s. 6d.

This little book is both excellent in itself and on account of its modest dimensions. Although not written for the expert, the expert would profit by reading it and learning that the essential subject matter of psychology can be put in the language of the people, to whom technical jargon is meaningless.

The outstandingly good chapter is on sex and marriage relations. All parents should read it, so that they can know what to say to their children, and older adolescents of both sexes should learn it by heart, to see what the whole mysterious business of sex means and how they should treat it. Married couples who are not quite hitting it off will be brought back to a sense of proportion and good humour by absorbing its attitude.

Chapters on what we call inferiority complex, frustration, and the fear of life and death, are all excellent. The salve of the fear of death is to live fully and dangerously, and Christian fellowship dissolves our neurotic self-regarding tendencies. The whole book is a fine little manual of social pacifism.

J. C. G. BURTON

## FEAR & CURE

The International Situation. By Carl Heath. Northern Friends Peace Board and Friends Peace Committee. 4d.

Reprinted from *The Friend*, this leaflet is addressed primarily to the members of that Society. "The present fear that rules the world," says the author "needs something like a divine courage for its cure. That is why it is so essential that a Christian community like the Quaker Society should re-examine itself and know with clarity what are the values it rests upon. . . Europe's need is a fresh, vital inspiration creating a wholly new confidence; an inspiration confirmed in constructive action in the material things of life."

## THE KETTLE AND THE POT

The Case for Japan. By the Rev. G. N. Strong. Japanese Businessmen's Association in London.

This is a reprint of an address given to a South Wales Rotary Club. The name of the association which has published it makes it clear that it is a statement of the case for Japan which is approved by at any rate an influential body of Japanese citizens.

It must be admitted to be a very moderate statement, which does not defend Japanese bombing raids (though it suggests that atrocities have not been on only one side), but is chiefly an attack on Western hypocrisy and economic jealousy.

"Those who at Shanghai and elsewhere have erected monuments to their own cupidity at the expense of China," says the author, "are ill-fitted to condemn Japan's desire to develop China."

## THE SILENT INVADERS

Air Raid. By John Langdon-Davies. Routledge. 2s. 6d.

A.R.P. Lessons from Barcelona. By N. de P. MacRoberts. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 6d.

Reviewed by Carl J. Wilson,  
late of the Spanish Air Force

IF you are interested in ARP, John Langdon-Davies will certainly interest you. His latest book deals with the actual air raids on Barcelona of March 1938.

All ARP propaganda in Great Britain now becomes obsolete, as it has in Barcelona. Before these air raids over Barcelona, instructions could be purchased from the street newsagent on how to escape air raids. Now the Government has ordered the calling in of all this literature and propaganda. They have abandoned the idea of trying to bluff the public about modern air warfare.

Mr. Langdon-Davies points out that there is practically no escape from air raids. Silent technique enables the bombing planes to enter any city or town, gliding as far as 100 miles without any engine noise. Alarms will not be sounded or warnings given in the next war.

As an ex-officer of the Spanish Air Force I can substantiate these statements. We have gone on night patrol with 25 heavy bombing planes, and without any signal being given we have discharged our bombs and returned safely to our airport. Only when the bombs explode is the town aware an attack is on. Air raid wardens and all the lecturing that is costing the public millions of pounds would be found useless.

*Lessons from Barcelona* is by the present air raid warden of St. Pancras. He claims, because he has been only sight seeing in Barcelona for only a few days, that he understands all and everything about air raids. He writes that the selection of an air warden is now a very careful job.

But this book, sold at sixpence, is just trying to pacify a child with a soother. The public must know that there is no escape from these air raids.

John Langdon-Davies gives you all the facts; he deals with them exceptionally well and you can draw from his book that the present air raids over Barcelona are only a dress rehearsal of what will come to London.

Let it be known, ARP mean paving the way for an air raid massacre of innocent lives, air raid prevention means the abolition of air warfare.

You will not know when the attack from the air is on; the bomb exploding notifies the city that the place is being raided. You may be in your home with your children, you may hear a bomb explode, and you will be unable to move from your own house; the street, the house and the whole city may be in flames. Where now comes in air raid precautions?

John Langdon-Davies tells you that silent technique makes bombing from the air child's play; the raids he talks of I have actually watched from my observation station, only to take to the air and carry out the same air attack upon the enemy as they had done on us.

Our planes flew at an altitude of 30,000 feet and even 50,000—almost ten miles in the sky; 85 heavy bombing planes with engines silenced. Where do ARP come in?

## AFTER-DINNER SPEECH

England. A Speech by the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P. Faber. 1s.

Mr. Eden's speech at the banquet of the Royal Society of St. George shows him following in the steps of the master—Lord Baldwin. After a good meal it must have sounded magnificent, and none the worse for being, perhaps like its hearers, a little rotund.

It speaks of traditions and heritages, of ordered freedom and constitutional government, and it quotes General Smuts. It speaks roundly of freedom, as though it were the most easily comprehensible idea in the world, instead of the most difficult. So that, where one is offered an answer, on examination one finds only a platitude or a long series of questions.

"So long as an Englishman obeys his country's laws," says Mr. Eden, "it is the duty of government to ensure for him freedom to think, freedom to worship, freedom to speak, freedom to act as he will." "Can anyone doubt," as asks rhetorically, "that the universal realization of freedom would be a great step toward the establishment of permanent peace?"

It would surely be equally true, equally vague, to say that the universal realization of peace would be a great step toward the establishment of freedom. But since a thing cannot be a step toward what is a step to it, we must conclude either that Mr. Eden is wrong, or that we don't quite know what we are talking about.



## A Woman's Point of View

THE PART  
ALLOTTED TO WOMEN

I HAD been finding it very difficult to produce an article as requested, suitable for publication under the general heading of "A Woman's Point of View."

There seemed such an immense amount to be said and it is so difficult to write a short article that will not be misunderstood, unless one confines oneself to platitudes.

An urgent stimulus came to me from outside, from the following passage in Humbert Wolfe's book, *The Upward Anguish* (page 115). It runs:—

War, as all who lived through the years 1914-18 know, elicits in almost equal measure the worst and the best in man. The worst is perhaps the cruelty of non-combatants and above all of the women that the fighting-men have left behind them—so far behind that, spiritually, they become invisible but, alas, not inaudible.

Whenever there was something loathsome, ridiculous, and indefensible to advocate during that awful period, as, for example, reprisals on German children, the appointment to supreme office of persons whose only title to rule was their proved ability in escaping criminal conviction, it was the women whose voices were raised the loudest.

AN attack on "the women," so general and so unqualified, is a challenge to any woman to ask herself whether there be any truth in it, and if there be, to ask what might be the causes that make women appear to Mr. Wolfe pre-eminent in advocating "loathsome, ridiculous, and indefensible" policies.

It might be that, as men had the voices of the guns to speak for them, there was less need for them to strain their own voices; though it would be quite possible to make an anthology of the utterances of Ministers of the Crown during the war that would be hard to beat for loathsomeness.

There were during the war millions of reasonable and humane women; there were even many thousands of pacifist women and if they were inaudible it was because men suppressed their words, spoken and written.

It was a minister who prohibited Margaret Bondfield from going to the United States as a true representative of a body of women, and chose, instead, to send a woman who had lost the support of women in proportion as she won the support of ministers.

THE two instances selected by Mr. Wolfe are odd, because, in regard to the advocacy of reprisals on German children, whatever some insignificant woman here or there may have said, it was the Ministry of Blockade which most effectually carried out such reprisals.

Further, though a notorious swindler may have had some women admirers, it was the thousands of men in the trenches who were most enthusiastic about the weekly paper which he edited.

But before we can even begin to understand the impact of war on the minds of women, we must consider the part that is allotted to them. Here are a few questions.

Who constitute the governments that precipitate and direct war?

Who are the permanent officials that influence ministers?

Who are the diplomats that conduct negotiations leading to war?

Who are the editors that shape a newspaper's war policy?

Who are the correspondents on whose reports articles are based?

Who are the leader-writers that comment on events?

Who control the wireless?

Who constitute the army, navy and air force?

Who are the armament manufacturers?

Who are the financiers that decide

The first of two articles by H. M. Swanwick, author of "Collective Insecurity" and "Roots of Peace."

whether a war be possible or impossible? Who are the priests that bless the guns?

THE answer to all these questions is: "Men."

Women have no direct share in the preparation of wars. In very few countries have they even the minute share in affecting policy that is conveyed by the possession of the vote and the rather larger share conveyed by eligibility to Parliament.

Women as a sex are given no responsibility in this vital matter and it would be miraculous if they all exhibited a sense of responsibility in using the indirect influence which is all they have. Yet thousands of them do.

The Women's Cooperative Guild still stands up boldly as a women's organization within the cooperative movement, claiming its right and duty to oppose the policy of the men's cooperative organization; to stand for peace, as it did even in war time, and to resist the more subtle appeal to what is called collective security.

Once war has broken out, we find men's attitude to women entirely changed. When they have decided—without consulting women—to go to war, they appeal to women to help them kill.

During peace women are compelled to pay very heavy taxes in support of the war-machine, and in war time they are required to do very much more than "keep the home fires burning."

In war time men ask women, among other things,

1 to substitute for men, so as to release men to kill;

2 to urge and encourage men to kill;

3 to make munitions which will be used to kill;

4 to prepare conditions at home which, it is alleged, will maintain "morale" (i.e. the will to continue killing).

It is hoped that the maintenance of "morale" will result in the massacre of more enemy civilians, infant and adult, than of home civilians, thereby achieving the victory of the home team.

WE ought indeed to leave off talking of modern war as being a matter of fighting. It has become mostly a matter of killing, the killing being done by armed men and the victims being largely unarmed men, old people, children and women.

As a leader in *The Times* said (January 12, 1938), "the object of the bomber is not to defeat the rival air force, but to terrify into submission populations whose women, children and homes are attacked and destroyed by fire, explosives and gas."

Although men use women in war as described, when their war is finished they do not appeal to women to help them make peace. Peace treaties, like wars, have been contrived by men alone, and have ripened into the bitter fruit of victory—further wars.

If more women grasped these facts and their implications, they would become proof against the insidious flattery of being wanted by men in preparing for and co-operating in wars which are none of their contriving. They are wanted to share in the evil, but where their special gifts or experiences might be used to mitigate or cure the evil, they are thrown aside.

"Woman's place is the home"! Once the killing is over women are to return to their devastated homes.

So, may be, the weaker women unpack their laden hearts with curses, and while some kinds of men are stimulated to deeds by women's bellicose words, other kinds of men are shocked and attribute to the whole sex the violence of a few.

(A concluding article, "The Part Women Must Claim," will appear on this page next week.)

Anti-War Pictures  
at German  
Art Exhibition

By ALEXANDER C. SPENCE

THE true voice of German thought, humanity, and culture may still be heard above the din of armament factories in the Third Reich, if one only knows where to go to listen to it.

For the rest of July one may do so at the New Burlington Galleries, where an "Exhibition of Twentieth-Century German Art" is being held under the presidency of Augustus John, and under the patronage of many famous artists and art-lovers, among whom are: Karel Capek, Professor Ernest Barker, George Eumorfopoulos, Professor Julian Huxley, the Earl of Listowel, Virginia Woolf, Jean Renoir, and many others.

Some 35 artists are represented in this exhibition, including Liebermann, Lehmbruck, Barlach, Corinth, Chagall, Marc, Klee, Kadinsky, Modersohn, Beckmann, Kokoschka, G. Grosz, Otto Dix, and Max Ernst, all of whose work was represented in the exhibition of so-called "Degenerate Art" held last summer in Munich, where it attracted some millions of visitors, and now on view in Berlin.

THESE names represent practically all the painters of importance in German art of this century and the latter half of last century, but many are now in exile, or if in Germany are forbidden to exhibit.

Their one crime is that their work showed up the horrors of war, and that they refused to limit their artistic expression to the demands of National Socialist theory.

The interest that this exhibition will have for pacifists is that a number of the artists whose work is shown are themselves pacifists. Otto Dix is one.

He is now forced to paint pictures approved by official Germany, but he was at one time anti-war painter number 1 in Germany, noted for his fearful wartime pictures of the trenches, of the gruesome landscapes of death.

Two of his pictures are shown, and are eloquent testimony to a fearless mind that dared to tell the truth.

Barlach, who, with Lehmbruck, is the finest German sculptor of the century, is represented by five of his most important carvings, including "Hunger," a woman of the war period eating stones. This is a poignant and bitter piece of artistry.

Another sculptor, Elkan, was famous for his war memorials in Germany, but these, significantly enough, have all been destroyed. He is represented by a head of Toscanini.

George Grosz, the great pacifist and

satirist who pilloried post-war profiteering in Germany also exhibits some work, while another important exhibitor is Kathe Kollwitz, the greatest woman artist in Germany, who created magnificent peace posters during the War, and who left the Prussian Academy when Thomas Mann was expelled from it. (Kathe Kollwitz's self-portrait is reproduced on page 8.)

THERE is a pathetic story told of another German pacifist artist, Freundlich, who is now in desperate straits, starving in Paris. A committee of famous artists and art-lovers was formed some time ago, including Pablo Picasso and Herbert Read, two of the patrons of this exhibition, to help this unfortunate man, who has stood out, both as a pacifist and as an artist, against militarism and the totalitarian doctrines of Nazi Germany.

The organizers of the exhibition are careful to emphasize that their motives are in no way political.

They believe that art is a mode of human expression appealing to mankind in its universal aspects, above time and race, and that therefore the art which has for many years been held in the highest esteem in Germany should not be neglected.

Those who visit the exhibition can do so in the knowledge that the profits will be devoted to the relief of refugee artists, and to purchasing and presenting to English galleries great works which would otherwise have to be sent back to Germany, where they would be almost certain to be destroyed.

Pacifists who have also a jealous regard for the claims of culture will find much to interest them in this exhibition.

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## THE WAR IN SPAIN

is an episode of European history which ranks in importance only after the Great War of 1914-18. It affects directly or indirectly everybody in this country, being a challenge to all concepts of law, order and humanitarian feeling. Beginning as what appeared to be the conventional revolt staged by reactionaries, it was soon found to be a widespread international conspiracy. Preparations for intervention by Germany and Italy were made long before July, 1936. How that intervention almost provoked another European war is now known. What is not fully realised is that Spain has been chosen by international Fascism as a testing-out ground for their barbarous methods of totalitarian war. The Spanish people are defending their lives and freedom, and their defence is symbolic of what may easily happen elsewhere. United Editorial has, since the beginning of this year, been publishing books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, a weekly news-sheet and an illustrated monthly pocket magazine—all with the object of presenting the truth about Spain. Our appeal is to intelligence and sanity. Write for list of publications and for a free sample copy of THE WAR IN SPAIN (Weekly 1d.) or SPAIN AT WAR (Pictorial Monthly 3d.) or ask your newsagent or bookseller.

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# Six Weeks With the Arabs

By  
**EDMUND COCKSEGE**  
whose account of life among Jews  
in Palestine appeared in **PEACE**  
**NEWS** two months ago

Metulla, Upper Galilee,  
PALESTINE.

I HAVE just spent six weeks in close contact with Arabs in Palestine. For three weeks I stayed in Jerusalem sharing a room with two Arab boys. While there, I visited many villages and made contacts with some very fine Arab people. I had the opportunity to speak about the Peace Pledge Union twice at the YMCA, once to the boys' department—the boys showed a keen interest—and also to a public meeting one Sunday afternoon.

I feel that I ought to say, right at the start, that we should clear our minds of the idea that Arabs are all people who live in mud-hut villages and goat-hair tents, and dress in the historical costume of the Middle East.

This is not true, for I met many fine, educated, and intelligent Arabs, and in one goes to the towns one will find them populated, to a large extent, by professional and tradespeople who have had the advantages of education and advanced ideas. Their houses compare very favourably with the new modern Jewish houses of Telaviv and Hadar Hacarmel.

I MET young Arabs who had been educated in America, England, or Beyrout. They could discuss literature and music better than I could. But the tragedy is that these young people are receiving very little training or help in how to use this knowledge and energy to benefit their own country. They are in need of leadership.

What leadership they had in the Arab movement has been denied them since the Arab Higher Committee was declared illegal by the Administration, and five leading men, including the leader of the Arab Youth Federation, were deported without trial, last October, to the island of Seychelles off the east coast of Africa.

These men are reported to be suffering from the climatic conditions, but appeals from their relatives for their removal to Palestine have been curtly refused. A recent report from the *Palestine Post* says that they are restricted in their movements on the island, always have a police guard, and are not allowed to speak to anyone; while other political prisoners are allowed to move freely, the Palestine deportees are not.

Meanwhile, the young Arabs are unable to form themselves into any kind of association through which they might help themselves and their fellows, for fear of removal to prison or of deportation.

This suppression is both dangerous to them and to the peaceful settlement of the Palestine problem, for it makes those who do not at present believe in the violence of the hill gangs think in that direction. They say "How else can we be heard?"

MY MISSION on behalf of the Peace Army brought me into close contact with the Arab farmers and villages. I stayed in one or two for short periods, and visited many others.

I found that by showing the spirit of friendship I was able to get fairly close to many of the people. These people suffer much from poverty due to the difficult land, lack of water, and the burden of debts.

The Administration is doing very little to help the villagers, but is spending all the revenue on "public security," as it is called. From what I saw, I should say that there would be far more security in

the constructive work of rebuilding and modelling the life of the farmers and villagers.

The authorities did start loans for the hill districts, giving a grant of £50,000 to be issued in small loans at eight percent. There were 100,000 applications for loans totalling £1,000,000, demonstrating how inadequate the grant was. £33,000 has actually been granted in loans, covering only 1,183 applications.

Some of the farmers' sons are able to have education at the Agricultural College but, of course, the vacancies are limited. If help of a really constructive nature was given to agriculture, villagers would not be so ready to go to the hill gangs.

In many villages I visited there was a high percentage of unemployment—another reason for men joining the gangs.

Here again much could be done. Many of the villages are a long way from the main roads, and the roads leading to them are no more than cart tracks, or even only narrow paths. If grants could be made for road construction, work would be provided for idle hands and communications improved between the villages and the towns.

Education and social life and activities would do much to encourage the villagers—particularly the youth—to improve their standard of life. But, instead, the Government prefers the methods of violence.

Every time some incident is traced to a village, or happens in the vicinity, a collective fine is imposed. In many cases the villagers are unable to pay, so that the military come and take away food and flocks to sell in payment of the fine.

As a result the villagers are left in poverty, the men see nothing for it but to go into the hills, and the women teach the children to hate both English and Jews.

THERE IS a great need for schools in the villages. There are some government schools, but they are inadequate and there is very little provision for girls.

In one district, where there are 100 villages, 25 have schools, and only two are girls' schools.

I visited several schools. In all cases, they did not accommodate all those who wanted and ought to go to school. The village has to provide the land, half, and often more than half, the cost of the school, and the furniture. The Government provides the first teacher.

The greatest need is for adequate training of teachers, for many would then teach in villages, independently of the government provision. There are some who already do this for small fees, but they are themselves not trained at all and have either obtained matriculation or have been educated at a mission school. As a rule their work consists largely of teaching English.

There are some Arab national schools, to which those who can afford send their children. The teachers who are trained need to have means of further training while they are teaching. There is a great need for some good literature in Arabic, of a

simple nature, for the children of the villages. They have no really helpful educational stories. Some of us hope to help in this direction, both in Britain and in Palestine.

THE NEED for a good medical service is also very great, for the villagers suffer greatly from disease, especially of the eyes. A great deal of serious trouble could be avoided if some simple clinical service were provided for each village or group of villages.

Some villages have a government nurse, or are served by people who run a clinic as part of their missionary work. But the majority of the villages have no other service than periodical visits from the Health Department. If any accident occurs or disease breaks out, they have often to go very long distances for a doctor or to a clinic.

I spent a few days with the two Peace Army workers, and helped them with their clinic, a poorly equipped one but at least able to render some simple service to the villagers. It is a very hard task they are tackling, because of the appalling ignorance and apathy of the people, who do not know how to help themselves even in simple matters such as bathing wounds in hot water, or bathing their babies.

The fight against dirt is a very disheartening one, and can most probably only be won through the children and young people. The girls need training in the simple methods of domestic science, how to organize a home and how to feed, clothe, and bath babies. They just have no idea whatever.

The two Peace Army workers hope to tackle this by organizing Scouts and Guides.

## WHAT DID YOU DO IN THE GREAT WAR, DADDY?

I WONDER what the answer would be, if parents were asked the above question by their children.

How well we remember that war-time poster of a child putting the question to his father. No doubt this clever piece of advertising brought numerous men to the colours, and it would be very interesting to know what their answer would be today.

First there would be those men who had the courage of their own convictions that war was wrong.

I could hardly picture this type of man trying to pose as a hero, relating how he suffered persecution; but I can imagine him quietly explaining that he didn't think killing and maiming each other was the right way to settle any dispute.

Then there would be those men who saw active service. Here we should find different types of men: some who would give the child a friendly pat on the back and say, "Daddy doesn't want to talk of that, dear"; others, who saw little of the fighting but had cushy jobs with good pay, would feel more inclined to display their medals and relate deeds of heroism in which they never took part.

Others would be candid and admit that

IT IS only possible to touch on the fringe of the things that a really interested Administration might do to help the Arabs of Palestine, and in so doing bring a greater measure of security than they can ever bring with regiments of soldiers and Lewis guns.

But, instead, they blindly create further enmity and destroy very often what life the villagers have. The Arabs once had a faith in British justice, but they are being very quickly disillusioned when they see the methods of violent suppression imposed upon them.

There have been some very serious cases of unnecessarily hasty action being taken by both police and military.

In one case, soldiers were allowed to beat up the male members of a village near Jerusalem after the shooting of two of their comrades had been traced to the village. The blame does not lie with the soldiers, but with the authorities who control them.

It is usual to blow up houses as a warning to the villagers. It has often occurred that the inhabitants have not been given sufficient time to remove their belongings. Then, in searching the villages, the police and the military have completely destroyed both the furniture and the food supplies of the villagers.

They pour out the wheat and oil, which mix together on the floor. Furniture has been completely ruined by rough handling.

I personally saw quite a mild case: a policeman had searched a house and broken every pane of glass in the doors of two wall cupboards, also broken the locks of a set of drawers. I was told that had he asked for the key he could have had it.

THE LATE Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ormsby Gore (now Lord Harlech), in reply to a question by Mr. Sorensen in Parliament, said he thought that "reports of such incidents were all lies, issuing from the Arab Centre." It is strange that certain influential people in Palestine have found it necessary to protest to the Administration against such unnecessary acts of violence.

I believe the problem of Palestine is to a large extent dealt with in the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto. When the British Government is prepared to act upon the lines of that Manifesto then it must relinquish self-interest for the common good. Self-interest guides our policy in relation to Palestine. Until that goes, we shall find Palestine's problem difficult to solve.

When I read the Manifesto at the YMCA in Jerusalem, my Arab chairman, upon hearing that I was working for the Peace Army, said "I wish you'd tackle Downing Street." He was glad to hear that we were doing so through the Manifesto.

There is an oasis of light for us when we know that there is a small group of pacifists doing what they can to serve the welfare of Palestine. Through them many Arabs are being inspired to help themselves, and friendships between all parties in Palestine are slowly being established.

to have taken part in the War was the biggest mistake in their life; that war had never been the means of ending war, and never would be.

These are the men who would let their children know that war stirred up hate, punished the innocent with the guilty.

Of course, some children would never ask that question. When they were very young they saw daddy lying down gasping for breath.

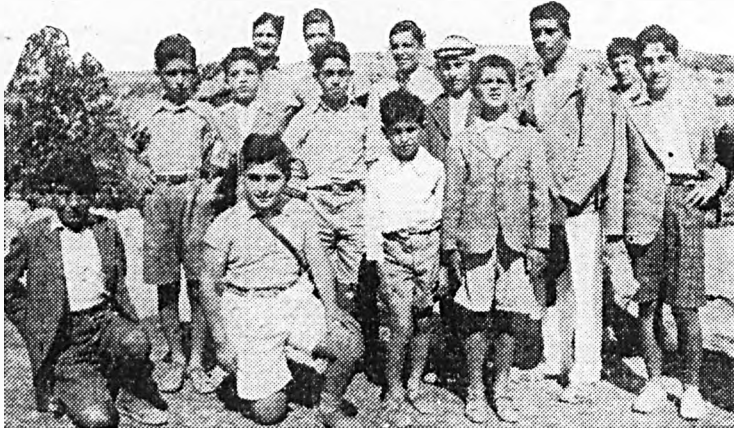
They have heard their mother say to neighbours, "He hasn't slept for nights."

They were only little and at first they didn't understand, but now they have grown up and know that, if war broke out, not only soldiers but citizens may be like their daddy. You can well understand why, such as these would avoid asking such a question.

One could well imagine, too, how the profiteer's child would hear how patriotic daddy was in the War, working day and night to feed the guns, almost worn to a shadow.

But not a word of bloated profits gained through the deaths of men.

E. S. Danes



A group of boys from the Jerusalem Y.M.C.A.



The first of three articles under the heading  
"Speaking Personally," by

DR. A. D. BELDEN

# Types of Pacifism

## I. PSYCHOLOGICAL

### INTRODUCTORY

By way of introduction to these three articles, so kindly permitted by the editor of PEACE NEWS, let me say that only a deep concern for the unity and efficiency of the pacifist cause urges me to raise issues of this kind just now. If, as Alfred Noyes has so eloquently said, "Ours is the white-hot war," it must be the bounden duty of every pacifist to "know himself" as thoroughly as possible; discipline for the pacifist begins, like charity, at home.

Our movement must achieve a high standard of self-criticism and courageous self-adjustment if it is to reach that quality of sheer spiritual force which alone is capable of changing in a final way this human world. Nothing is more tragically true in our human story than that there is only a hair's-breadth difference between the saint and the charlatan, the hero and the coward, the angel and the devil, the leader and the demagogue, and the slightest tincture of that subtle poison, spiritual pride, is enough to work the woeful difference.

This is why I put forward these articles with the somewhat unusual testimony that I have tried honestly to submit myself to their tests before asking others to do so.

I put forward these thoughts and challenges, therefore, not to make our confusion, already great, more confounded, or to rap the knuckles of those who share with me one of the grimmest and yet sublimest tasks of history, but to point a way up the difficult mountain-side, which, if taken, will lead us on from our separate positions to an inevitable and glorious solidarity.

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THE new psychology has shed a flood of rather disconcerting light, in our time, upon all the enthusiasms and occupations of humanity. It sees civilization arising in the main from the necessity of finding an outlet for repressed energies of animal instinct locked up in the human being.

The needs of social order, which rise in complexity from the primitive to the modern, require a definite curtailment of instinctive behaviour, so that a surplus of energy is left unused in the organism of animal-man. It is from this surplus that there arise the art, music, poetry, religion, philosophy, science, sport, and other distinctive achievements of civilized man.

It is important to see not merely religion but all these activities as equally due to psychological requirements—they serve to ease the stress and strain of man's internal tension—they draw off the brute in him and give him a chance to become something else, a human-animal.

Now Freud has, rather unfortunately, dismissed religion as an illusion with no corresponding objective reality. It is a psychological self-service only.

If this is the truth, however, it must be the truth also about art, music, poetry, &c. They are all reduced to so many subjective riots of animal energy, they are not keys to objective existence, they are all alike, merely useful illusions of the human mind. They are artificial patterns projected by man for his own convenience upon reality.

When put like that we see that Freud's interpretation obviously goes too far. If he had been content to say that some religion is illusory, he would have been right and his judgment would have applied equally well all round the various features of civilization.

It becomes highly important, therefore, that we should be able to distinguish between psychological and realistic behaviour and idealism. For those who enter upon ideal activity for psychological reasons are not really interested in the activity but simply in the relief it brings to their condition.

Thus, for example, many people are religious, not for God's sake, or the sake of

their fellow men, but purely for their own. They are busy sublimating by its means some foiled instinct, or relieving some painful complex.

In just the same way there may be psychological Conservatives, psychological Liberals, psychological socialists and communists and anti-communists, &c. There are even psychological marriages; in fact, there is no end to the activities which can be imitated and used in this way, and naturally pacifism suffers in its turn.

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SUCH pacifists will generally be fulfilling one or more of three main motives or necessities. They are fear, habit, and the inferiority-superiority interaction. We gain nothing by closing our eyes to the fact that cowards may be found in our ranks just as certainly as they are to be found in any army.

Fear is a dominant motive in all human beings and conscientious objection is one definite way of escape for some timid souls to whom the violence of war is utterly intolerable, or to whom the idea of being disciplined by others is equally unacceptable. We must realize, of course, that this state is not usually a conscious one and it is just here that the psychological condition reveals itself as terribly dangerous to any cause.

Its false basis is apt only to be revealed in that supreme crisis in which everything depends upon its being valid and reliable.

It collapses only at the crucial moment. As a matter of fact, the test for psychological pacifism is exactly the same as that for psychological religion.

Much religion there has been and is that was and is mere dope, sheer phantasy, compensation for some feeling of inferiority, or other psychological need. But there is another kind of religion vastly different. It is the kind of religion for which its devotees can suffer and die.

The acid test of reality is victory over the secret inner core of selfishness. At that point the soul truly escapes its self-imprisonment and becomes a realist-Christian, or a realist-pacifist, as the case may be.

Most of my readers may remember A. E. W. Mason's novel *The Four Feathers*, in which the hero refuses to join the army at a time of war because, being so desperately afraid that he might be afraid, he thinks himself a coward. Four lady friends see that he is fitted out with four white feathers, and he spends the rest of his youth redeeming each of these four feathers by four superbly heroic achievements.

★

THE story serves the purpose of proving that the finest heroism arises only from the conquest of fear, not from its absence. This is the saving truth for the psychological pacifist. Once he understands his condition, or even merely suspects it, he can proceed to conquer it and join the ranks of genuine pacifism.

Then there is the type which is operating upon a habit-motive satisfying the herd instinct on a local scale. He passes into the movement because he has been reared in it, or amongst its ideas, or finds himself in a set that thinks like this, so that by one or other of these means he finds himself committed to a course with which he cannot break.

Such a person is often rendered, by his upbringing and training, constitutionally incapable of violence. He is certainly a pacifist of a kind, but not by deep moral conviction or earnest choice, rather by social drift; under sufficient pressure he will become not a martyr, but a nervous breakdown. He is another instance of a



Out of the wreckage of the last war is built the shape of the next.

Drawn by WILLIAM WARBIS.

psychological pacifism which is a mere self-service.

The third main type is tossed on the horns of the dilemma of inferiority. Early influences conspire, perhaps, to produce a "rebel," whose repressed egoism throws him into revolt.

Minority movements, therefore, make a peculiar appeal to him as providing usually an easier release for his ego-centricity than the larger and more popular movement toward war. He is compensating for his inferiority by achieving an apparently superior moral condition.

★

THIS motive is by no means to be despised, for in the first place it is very common and in the second place it is marked by great energy and enterprise and is productive of fine leadership up to a point.

The fact that this type is essentially egoist and not truly based on moral principle, seriously limits its tension-capacity in the greater crises that call for suffering. One of its supreme weaknesses is its inability to relinquish leadership rather than compromise.

It is important for us to realize that these psychological factors are probably present in some degree unconsciously in the condition of every one of us. The question is not so much their presence, but rather whether they dominate.

There is no need for anyone to be ashamed of the strains of fear, habit, or inferiority-feeling that are lurking in his constitution. He is not likely to be actuated more by fear than is the average War Office, or by habit than is the average public-school boy army-officer, or by inferiority more than the average member of Parliament.

These things are common to human nature and provide the opportunity for asserting moral choice and becoming truly brave, genuinely independent and actually superior, but that element of deep moral choice is essential if our pacifism is to become real.

DOES all this sound discouraging? Not more so, I hope, than any really searching analysis and appraisal of our condition is bound to be. The cause we serve, namely the ultimate and complete happiness of mankind, is too vital and urgent for us to imagine that it can be served by any sham imitation of the real thing.

We must be stern with ourselves, and here we begin to see the true explanation of why so often defeat seems to dog the steps of the idealist.

It is because the universe, in the very nature of things, must test the humanity that seeks the ideal again and again and yet again to its very roots, for nothing could be more terrible than indeed that which happens repeatedly—the apparent arrival of some ideal state which is found to be carrying within it another serpent destroying yet another paradise. The paradise that can be destroyed should be destroyed, for it deserves to be destroyed.

No man in his senses would ask for the ideal world which was so only in pretence. Who can tolerate a fool's paradise? Yet he will give his very life for the ideal world which is really and finally so.

This is the worst that evil ever does; it challenges and tests the quality of man and of his endeavour, compelling him to become more and more sincere, more and more perfect—deserving at last of the eternal realization of his age-long dream.

We know what a common gibe it is against the Peace Pledge Union in particular that at the crucial test its members will fall away. Are we so confident that there is nothing true in that warning?

If the foregoing disquiets us ever so little as to our own condition, let us be grateful that we are found out in time. The one thing, thank God, that a man can always change is his motive, and we can refund our motive definitely beyond any merely psychological interest in a new devotion of ourselves to the pacifist ideal.

NEXT WEEK: Humanitarian Pacifism



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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

July 16, 1938

## IS IT PEACE?

FROM time to time the Italian Government, by hints or other indications, reminds us of its desire that there should be no unnecessary delay in giving effect to the Anglo-Italian Agreement. By similarly indirect means—notably through the Government-influenced *Times*—that impatience is soothed by appropriate means. Appropriate, that is, not only to the degree of impatience but also to the degree of support for his policy which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN commands at the particular moment, at any rate in the House of Commons.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN himself gave rise to fresh suspicions that he is preparing to act upon these Italian hints when he said on Monday that Parliament would have an opportunity to discuss the agreement when the date of its coming into force had been decided, but avoided a flat denial that this date would be during the summer recess.

Thus, the Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Times*, after once more stating the Italian case, on July 7, replied:

The Italian public and Italian writers, used to an authoritarian régime, do not always seem to realize fully the significance of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's pledge before Parliament that a Spanish settlement must come before, or at any rate must accompany, a completion of the agreement. The agreement has to be brought before Parliament, which is mindful of the spirit in which Italy has maintained the agreement, but which also knows that even if all the bombed ships were not wholly British, neither were all the bombers wholly Spanish. It would be hard for Mr. CHAMBERLAIN at present to bring the agreement before the House unless there was a very clear prospect of a real settlement in Spain. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN does not seek merely a majority in the House; he seeks the House's endorsement, as full as may be, of his work for European peace.

This, not unnaturally, having apparently failed to soothe the Italian feelings, it was followed up two days later by a leading article in the same newspaper. This was occasioned by their Rome Correspondent's report that

It is clear that the British Government's inability to accept the Italian request for an early ratification of the Anglo-Italian Agreement has revived suspicions in Rome that the forces in England which are hostile to the agreement are proving too strong for Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, and that the agreement itself was conceived in some English minds as a convenient means of keeping Italy quiet until Britain is strong enough to dominate her.

To which the leader-writer was emboldened to reply that "it may fairly be assumed that the British Government will put no unreasonable interpretation upon the words 'a settlement in Spain,' which Mr. CHAMBERLAIN wisely refused at the time to define precisely." This statement was "gratefully hailed by the London correspondents of the Italian newspapers as a ray of sunshine in a sky which has been growing more and more threatening."

Has Italy, then, actually been kept quiet, despite her suspicion that that was our game? Such shortness of memory, such readiness to cast aside suspicion in a world ruled by suspicion, is inconceivable.

Does, then, the "ray of sunshine" reveal the Government as paving the way for "persuading" certain people in Parliament not to be "too strong" for Mr. CHAMBERLAIN?

Not that anyone having any pretension to good will would want the Government to be unreasonable. Indeed, if the only effect of the pledging of our friendship with Italy which the "ratification" of the agreement would imply were to be peace, we should be the first to advocate the hastening of its coming into effect. It is because we do not believe that that would be the result that we view with disquiet any tendency to whittle down the interpretation of "a settlement in Spain." Though never defined, there has always been an uncomfortable impression that its

## THE "DAILY EXPRESS" DECLINED TO PUBLISH THIS ARTICLE

## I Want Generosity on Behalf of Peace

MAX PLOWMAN

sent this article to the "Daily Express," which, following an article by Lord Castlerosse demanding conscription, had intimated its willingness to publish other points of view

LORD CASTLEROSSE is to be thanked for his candour. He has rushed in where the Prime Minister feared to tread; and since the unimportant people like myself want to know what people in places of influence and authority are really thinking, I, personally, am very grateful to him for confessing that it is about "Peace-Time Conscription."

Conscription of what? "The youth of this country." Does that include the



This self-portrait by Kathe Kollwitz is among the exhibits in the exhibition of Twentieth-Century German Art now being held in London. (Story on page 5.)

(Continued from Col. 1.)

meaning has been something other than peace—at best, perhaps, the calling of "seconds out of the ring." Any still less drastic meaning can hardly be expected to find support among those who sincerely wish for peace and not just for the removal of a menace to a particular set of interests.

An agreement of friendship with Italy on a just and honourable basis—and whatever may be said of the recognition as legal of the conquest of Abyssinia, it cannot possibly be called honourable—could scarcely be other than good. On such a basis we might even contemplate calmly the granting of financial assistance to fascist Italy, which, if it succeeded in removing occasions for the uniting of the Italian people to meet foreign obstacles to their well-being, might well remove a foundation stone of fascism.

But an agreement on terms which not only give the cloak of respectability to a past war (if indeed it is yet past) but which, in effect if not by the actual fact of financial aid, encouraged the waging of a war such as Italy is waging in Spain could not possibly be supported as a move of peace. What is worse, however, is that such an agreement would constitute an effective alliance with the policy of fascism which that war is being fought to maintain. That, as we have pointed out before, would necessitate the increasing practice of the methods of fascism at home, however gradually. And that, in fact, is what we see going on around us nearly every day. That is why every lover of freedom must insist—not that we have "no truck with the dictator," but that any "truck" be in the interests of peace in Spain and in the world.

women and children; for, make no mistake about it, children can be made useful in totalitarian war? Does it include conscription of wealth, of goods, and of services from people whose good fortune it happens to be no longer to belong to "youth?"

When I hear Lord Castlerosse advocating the total conscription of wealth I shall be more impressed by his sense of fitness and fairplay.

If this country has definitely decided that peace by negotiation must now be abandoned, and that the only "peace" we can hope to look forward to is "peace" by means of another war a thousand times more frightful than that which laid a million of our people in their last resting places, then let those who think this come forward and advocate the conscription of everything: freedom, democracy, liberty of thought and opinion, and every other good thing that this country has always stood for. Then we shall know that something indistinguishable from fascism has begun to reign where'er the sun doth his successive journeys run.

Till then: let us resist conscription as we would the coming of the devil himself; for surely a child can see the inherent fallacy of talking about fighting for freedom when you have already surrendered it.

"The greatest blow for peace the world has ever seen" which Lord Castlerosse advocates would just be a war of such

magnitude as to amount to race suicide. By such means, no doubt, we should get peace of a sort; but it would be the absolute peace of death.

And do we need another war in order to know what that means?

FOR consolation, youth is now to be assured that it will not be buried in "the marshes of Passchendaele" or "the poppyfields of Picardy"; "the soldiers of England will stay in England." To which the reply must obviously be: Thank you for nothing; since Rupert Brooke, one burial place is as good as another, if not worse.

Sane men are not hoping to decorate the English countryside with replicas of the graves of Flanders. And as for "those long days and nights in bloody places" I spent on the Somme in 1916, I will do everything in my power to see that my son shall not have to carry on after the fashion that fell to the lot of Lord Castlerosse and myself.

Just because I think this country is worth preserving. Those who would get it blown to bits because they will not try the ways of conciliation and appeasement, and have been the persistent enemies of that policy, ever since 1918, are just the people now who talk about "preserving this country"! It could be comic were it not the utmost tragedy of irony.

HISTORY proves that fighting to "Make the World safe for Democracy" and having a "War to end War" is a failure.

The way to get peace is to be willing to pay for it. For twenty years this country has tried to dodge paying for peace, and has put the burden of payment on the other European nations. Let us learn how to shell out for peace.

I hope Lord Castlerosse will set us an example and stop demanding the sacrifice of youth on "the Altar of Freedom."

## THE CHURCH AND ARMED FORCE:

## Two Views

A GROUP OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND LEADERS issued a statement on Thursday of last week, from which the following are extracts:

WE who sign this statement represent a great multitude who have been rendered anxious about the moral basis of foreign policy and rearmament as a result of the recent trend of events. It is to many people far less evident than it was three years ago on what moral principles foreign policy should be based, and in what conditions it may be justifiable to have recourse to armed force.

We desire, therefore, to affirm that the supreme goal of foreign policy should be the establishment and maintenance of international law.

We wish to affirm with all possible emphasis that there is clearer moral justification for the use of armed force in defence of international law than for a war of the old type in defence of territorial possessions or economic interests. And we are far from satisfied that this order of moral priority is universally accepted by our fellow-citizens or by the Government. . . . There is a real moral case for a repudiation of the use of armed force altogether; but our country has not been persuaded that it is sound. There is no moral case for building and maintaining armaments without clear moral principles to direct their use. We are anxious lest the recent trend of events should develop into a drift away from all moral principles, and result in an acceptance of sheer expediency as the guide of our action.

Signed by: The Archbishop of York; the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Bristol, Carlisle, Chelmsford, Derby, Dover, Lichfield, St. Asaph, Southwark, Southwell, the Deans of Chichester and Exeter, the Provost of Wakefield, and the Rector of Birmingham (Canon Guy Rogers).

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM (Dr. E. W. Barnes), in a letter published in "The Times" on Saturday, wrote:

THERE appears in your columns today a statement as to the use of armed force in defence of international law. It is weightily signed by men whom I am not worthy to criticize, including the Archbishop of York and nine diocesan Bishops.

While anxious statesmen, striving for peace, may have doubts, most of those who welcome the higher worldliness in international affairs will approve it. Stalin in a moment of moral exaltation might have added his signature, for in the statement there is no mention of Christ or appeal to Christian ideals.

I had thought that leaders of the Church of England, even when gravely preoccupied by the complexities of a supremely difficult world situation, existed to preach Christ and to proclaim Christian principles.

Have the signatories forgotten that their Master, if the Gospel according to St. Matthew be accurate, believed that he could have had "more than twelve legions of angels" to protect him from arrest; that, repudiating the use of force, he went to the Cross, a typical saint of non-resistance?

Some of us believe that, according to the Gospel, the kingdom of righteousness will come through the innocent suffering of good men.

We do not see it coming as the result of a policy which in the end might only too easily lead to our attempting to drop high explosive bombs on the women and children of Berlin.



# TWO YOUNG WAR RESISTERS WHO WILL NOT GIVE IN

*Peers and M.P.s Appeal to Belgian Premier*

FOUR members of the House of Lords and 32 MPs have signed an appeal to M. Spaak, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, on behalf of two young men at present in the Van der Vorst Prison, Antwerp, for refusal of military service.

The appeal has been sent with a covering letter from Mr. George Lansbury, asking M. Spaak to give the matter his personal consideration, and copies have been sent to other Belgian Ministers and Deputies.

It declares that the two young men in question—Henri and Constant Spiessens—“have shown by their consistent and courageous attitude that their objection to military service is based upon a genuine religious conviction and that, although opinions may differ as to the wisdom of the course adopted by them, it is clearly manifest that they are acting from the highest conscientious motives.”

Further, since they have stated that no punishment will deter them from following the course which they believe to be right, it is suggested that no useful purpose can be served by keeping them in prison.

## TWICE SENTENCED

The determination of the Spiessens brothers is shown by the fact that both have already refused military service, and been sentenced, twice. Their story is set out in the appeal in these words:

Henri Spiessens is 24 years of age. In 1932 he commenced his studies at the Don Bosco Institute at St. Denis Westrem with a view to entering the priesthood.

In 1934 he was called up for military service, but notified the Minister of War that he could not take part, on conscientious grounds. As a result he was dismissed from the Institute.

In September, 1935, he was brought before the Military Tribunal and designated to the 7th Infantry Regiment, being informed that he was expected to take up his duties on October 14, 1936, for three years. He did not respond and was arrested at Ghel on August 29, 1937, accused of desertion.

He remained in prison at Antwerp till October 5, when he was tried and sentenced to one month's imprisonment, but released immediately on account of the time he had already spent in prison. As he still refused to join his regiment he was arrested again at Puers on January 15, 1938, and on February 14 was sentenced by the Military Court of Antwerp to nine months' imprisonment for desertion.

## SENT BACK UNIFORM

His brother, Constant Spiessens, 22 years of age, was called up also in 1934. His friends, who feared his strength would not be great enough to face the difficulties of refusal, urged him to serve, and he was posted to the 7th Infantry Regiment.

When he received the notification to join he sent a declaration of refusal to the Minister without consulting his friends; but owing to great pressure brought to bear upon him he reluctantly joined up on October 13, 1935.

After four months' service, however, so great was his conscientious conviction against it that he could bear the strain no longer and on February 17, 1936, he left the barracks and sent back his uniform.

He was arrested on March 18 at Puers and sent to prison at Antwerp. On May 5, 1936, he was sentenced by the Military Court at Antwerp to one month's imprisonment, but set free immediately, as he had already served more than that time.

He was ordered to rejoin his regiment. Again he refused, and was arrested at the same time as his brother on January 15, 1938. He was sentenced by the Military Court of Antwerp on February 14, 1938, to one year's imprisonment for desertion and refusal of service.

Both brothers appealed and their cases were heard on May 12, 1938. The Court of Appeal, whilst admitting that the objections were sincere, confirmed the previous sentences. Notice has been given that this verdict will be contested in the Cour de Cassation.

Those who signed the appeal were:

Lord Ponsonby, Lord Arnold, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, and Bertrand Russell;

C. G. Ammon, Rev. J. Barr, Aneurin Bevan, F. A. Broad, Sir Stafford Cripps, W. Dobbie, D. M. Graham, G. H. Hall, J. H. Hall, J. H. Jagger, Will John, Morgan Jones, W. T. Kelly, David Kirkwood, G. Lathan, W. Leach, W. Leonard, V. McEntee, G. Mathers, F. Messer, G. Muff, W. Paling, D. N. Pritt, Ben Riley, Dr. A. Salter, Rev. R. Sorensen, Will Thorne, W. Whiteley, E. J. Williams, T. Williams, C. H. Wilson, and Rev. G. S. Woods.



Henri and Constant Spiessens

## NEHRU DEFENDS NON-VIOLENCE IN INDIA

### Method that is Peaceful but Dynamic

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

A DEFENCE of the Indian National Congress's policy of non-violence, as expounded by Mr. Gandhi, was made by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru when he addressed a meeting held by the Left Book Club in the Queen's Hall, London, last week.

A cry of "Shame" from one member of the audience, which greeted Mr. Nehru's statement that Congress had not changed this policy brought this rejoinder:

"It astounds me that anybody should imagine peaceful methods a shameful thing."

The non-violent policy had not been passive but dynamic, he said. It had brought tremendous pressure to bear on the Government and had given the Indian people self-reliance, faith, and common action.

Mr. Nehru, who is leader of the Indian Congress Party, told his audience why his party wanted independence for India instead of dominion status.

### CAUSE OF POVERTY

The chief problem, he said, was poverty. During the 150 years of British rule in India some good things had been achieved but the poverty there today did not say much for it.

Describing how, when the British first entered India, they deliberately stopped and crushed its old manufactures and industries, and how in consequence there was an over-pressure on the land, he said this was the fundamental cause of poverty.

Since the War, he said, British combines had been digging themselves in while people talked about constitutional changes, "creating fresh vested interests and making it extraordinarily difficult for us to get a move on unless we dig them out completely."

From the political point of view he rejected dominion status because "India is

not going to submit to being dragged about at the heels of British foreign policy."

There had been two movements in India—a nationalist movement and a social and economic one. So many peasants had come into the nationalist movement that it was necessary to give consideration to them.

What was wanted was enough strength, if necessary, to liquidate imperialism in India. The whole conception of any constitution being drawn up and imposed upon India was absurd.

The only way to solve the problem was to recognize that the Indian people must determine their own constitution.

Mr. Nehru expressed great optimism for the future of India. During the last year or two their strength had grown enormously, and more and more they were thinking in terms of playing some part in international affairs.

## ROMANTIC PICTURE OF REVOLUTION

Unless one has an emotional tie with one side of the struggle, wars and revolutions are equally exciting—or equally depressing—whichever side wins. In films and novels we are quite accustomed to identifying ourselves with whichever side the author wishes; sometimes we are cavaliers, sometimes roundheads, sometimes assaulting the Bastille for liberty, equality, and fraternity, sometimes "Pimpernel" with the aristocrats.

When one goes, therefore, to a film of the Russian Revolution, such as *The Last Night*, which is to be shown at the Academy Cinema, London, the question is whether the subject will triumph over one's ordinary cinema habit. Will one do more than simply back the hero's side? Will one succeed in feeling that the revolutionary side is right by standards of freedom and justice that go outside the cinema and are greater than it?

That is the test of the greatness of such a film as this. In its English form *The Last Night* fails.

There may be subtleties in the Russian dialogue that are insufficiently represented in the English sub-titles. If so, it is a pity. Judged by one with no knowledge of Russian, the film appears no more biased against the old regime than any ordinary romantic novel is against the side on which the hero is not, but neither is it less biased.

It has excellent photography, fine acting, and many exciting moments. As a study of the inwardness of social struggle it is not—in its English form, at any rate—even as high up the list as Griffiths' *Birth of a Nation*. A.C.S.

## LLANFAIR TALHAIARN

Newly appointed Guest House in three acres of ground.

COMFORTABLE BEDS. STUDIED DIET. FISHING. GARAGE.

FURNISHED BUNGALOW TO LET.

Mrs. C. P. RODWELL,

LLANFAIR T.H., near ABERGELE.

## FIRST PEACE CONGRESS FOR THE EMPIRE

*To Discuss Economic Agreements*

WHILE feeling that the Peace Pavilion at the Glasgow Empire Exhibition expresses in some measure the general desire for peace, the Scottish Peace Council has decided that something more than a statement of the case for peace is required.

Accordingly a Peace & Empire Congress is to be held in the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, from September 23 to 25. The aim is to link the peace movements within the Empire, and the congress will be the first of its kind ever held.

Besides dealing with the relationship of the British Empire to the world and the League of Nations (with special reference to Spain, Central Europe, Abyssinia, and the Far East), delegates will discuss, on the first day,

Dominions, colonies, mandates, and national independence in relation to world peace (with special reference to territorial redistribution, condition of native peoples, and the exploitation of colonies for purposes of war); and

Dominions and economic relations (with special reference to the Ottawa Agreement, and other economic and trading agreements).

The second day will be devoted to "A Peace Policy for the Peoples of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Viscount Cecil will preside on the opening day.

The International Peace Campaign and the National Peace Council are cooperating in the organization of the congress, which includes in its list of patrons the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Norman Angell, the Duke of Montrose, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. William Gallacher, Mr. Philip Noel Baker, the Chief Rabbi, and General Evangeline Booth.

A fee of 2s. 6d. is payable in respect of each delegate appointed to attend the congress. Further particulars may be obtained from Peace & Empire Congress (Organizing Secretary, Mrs. Helen Crawford), 79 West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2.

## Labour Candidate Stands for Pacifism

Mr. Jim Simmons, the prospective Labour candidate for West Wolverhampton, in a speech in his division yesterday said:

"I do not believe you can ever have a just war for it is not just to kill people for the sins of their rulers. I do not believe you can have a righteous war, 'righteousness exalteth a nation' but war debases and degrades both nations and individuals.

"I denounce the actions of the dictator nations and their murder campaign in Spain, Abyssinia, and China, but I also denounce the crimes of British imperialism in India and Jamaica."

Those who thought that capitalist governments were piling up arms so that they could be used to save democracy were simpletons; arms ultimately meant war, and when war broke out truth was the first casualty and civil liberties went.

He asked members of his audience to remember that they would not have to go to the next war—it would come to them.

"Your puny air raid precautions will not save you or your wives and babies," he said.

3d. monthly.

## EMPIRE A MONTHLY RECORD

No. 3

NOW OUT

(No. 1 was sold out; No. 2 had to be reprinted)

Annual post paid subscription: 3/6

15, South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.



## Is Your Child Worth a Penny?

Our Basque House has now been running for over a year, and sixty children are still enjoying the hospitality of the Peace Pledge Union at Langham, near Colchester.

Gallant foster-parents have supported and cared for these children. Members of the Union have sent a steady stream of donations. Yet we can hardly keep pace with the urgent and daily needs of our large family.

We now appeal to our membership to fill our almost empty purse—by sending to our Basque Fund one penny for every child they have; or one penny for every child they wish they had.

LET THE CHILDREN HELP OUR  
BASQUE CHILDREN.

Send your contribution to—

THELMA NIKLAUS,  
BASQUE FUND,  
PEACE PLEDGE UNION,  
96 REGENT STREET,  
W.I.

## Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

A handful of samples from recent days: The cry of *Al rio!* is taken up toward the end of lunch till the dining room rings with the din of it. The *rio* referred to is not the Rio Grande of the sea songs, but John Constable's little Stour which winds through the valley two miles from us, and the cry is designed to drown any objections to a bathing expedition that afternoon.

Señorita Celia saunters down the room, smiling through the the tumult, considering whether today it is to be yes or no. Generally it is yes, but recently concentration on preparation for our week's holiday during the conference next month has ruled out some expeditions.

If, then, they must w sheets in the afternoons, the children decided they would bathe before breakfast. Between five and six in the morning the house would

## Alton to the Rescue

Four months' effort by the Alton group in response to the appeal from Langham House on behalf of the Basque children has been surprisingly successful. A total of £17 has been raised from donations, which drives, and collecting boxes. About twenty new children's garments were received and sixty second-hand ones.

be filled by a low murmuring, jesting and chuckling, as the expedition mustered; and at length slipped out round the back of the house, towels carried muffler-wise round necks and bathing costumes sometimes worn jauntily on the head like a kind of cap, a trick of which the boys are particularly fond.

So, the roadside grass still heavy with dew and drenching to the feet, we made our way to our familiar pool, there to relish the first best hour of the day in the best way possible, the grey fish darting away from our boisterous splashes.

So much for the river for the moment. We have also been taking fresh air and exercise gathering strawberries and black currants for a neighbouring fruit-farmer.

It was good to see a score of our lively youngsters, scattered two to a row over the big sunlit, breeze-swept field, crouching to the leaf-hidden, red treasure, which I cannot vouch they did not sometimes sample. But we filled our baskets with both the red and the black to the satisfaction of our employer and, as our reward, supped that night on strawberries.

I must add that, as I write, two of the babies, Emilita (4 years) and Espe (5), have been sitting quietly at my side, handing me up from time to time imaginary foods and beverages in a doll's tea set. "This is coffee with milk and this, food." One bites the invisible sandwich and quaffs the empty tumblerful with gusto, much to the satisfaction of the caterers.

# NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

## HOME COUNTIES

### Ashford and Faversham

OPEN-AIR work in the villages has been a feature of the past month, according to the July issue of Ashford's *Group News*. Members of this group cooperated with members from Faversham in open-air meetings on Badlesmere Green, Challock Green, and Boughton Aluph Green. One meeting resulted in seven more signatures to the pledge and another brought in six. Besides bringing in these results, the meetings proved a fine training ground for budding speakers.

Good work was also done in the distribution of literature to passers-by, to houses in the vicinity, and to charabanc loads of trippers.

A regional conference, held at Ashford, proved a great success and attracted representatives from various parts of East Kent.

A resolution, calling for a world conference on the lines recommended in the Van Zeeland Report, was carried unanimously on the motion of Kenneth Wray of Hastings, seconded by W. J. Suter.

Another resolution calling for a reformed League of Nations was moved by H. J. Prickett of Canterbury and seconded by Leonard E. Fox of Dover. The mover put forward his personal opinion that a reformed League could only come by the development of a super-national moral authority to counteract the existing national selfishness. He based his hopes of this authority in a reborn Christian Church. The resolution was carried unanimously.

### Swanscombe

About 150 people assembled in Ingress Vale Congregational Church, Greenhithe, to hear the Rev. Johnston Martin, of the Presbyterian Church, Dartford, and Mr. Frank Regan, group leader from Raynes Park, speak on "The Way to Peace." The meeting had been arranged by Swanscombe group, and the Rev. H. Treacher took the chair.

Mr. Regan spoke of the four policies now advocated as ways to peace: power politics, isolation, collective security, and pacifism. The first three, he said, could not bring peace as they relied on the force of arms. Pacifism, the only way to secure lasting peace, would mean removing the economic causes of war, and substituting cooperation for competition.

The Rev. Johnston Martin said he was a pacifist because he was a Christian. He could find nothing in Christ's teachings that was contrary to the principles of pacifism.

Discussion took place at the end of the meeting.

### West Kent Region

A Dick Sheppard Peace Shop was opened in the village of Eynsford last Saturday by the West Kent Region of the Peace Pledge Union. Established near the picturesque bridge and decorated with an interesting series of posters on various aspects of the peace question, it is readily seen by the large number of hikers, cyclists, and motorists who pass through the village. It will remain open until next weekend.

The opening of the shop was made the occasion of a poster parade through Eynsford in the evening by PPU volunteers from all parts of the region, when a great deal of interest was attracted and a large number of leaflets distributed.

## LONDON

### N.I.

A LIVELY monthly magazine is published by the N.I. group under the title of *Peace Pudding*. The "July helping," besides containing a record of past activities and announcements of future ones, as is customary in such publications, contains also a substantial share of that useful ingredient—humour.

The result is a publication that finds its way into the hands of those as yet outside the PPU—a sure sign of the quality of its interest.

## MIDLANDS

### Hall Green

THIS group, in a suburb of Birmingham, is hoping to run a small camp during the first week in August for poor children—boys and girls.

Members have already succeeded in finding a field with water laid on, and they are now trying to borrow a local hall. But they are in urgent need of tents, large or small, and groundsheets. Is there anybody prepared to lend or hire them one for the week?

An invitation has been extended to anyone who can attend the camp and help. The secretary of the group is T. C. Edwards, 57, Brooklands Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

### Swanwick

"Justice alone will not bring peace," said a speaker at a Midland Adult School Conference held at Swanwick on Sunday; "this world can only be run on God's principle, the principle of love." Over a hundred people attended the conference.

A stall containing PPU literature was well supported, and among other things three dozen copies of PEACE NEWS were sold. As a result of this activity the local PPU group has been asked to send speakers to a number of adult schools.

## SCOTLAND

NEWS from Scotland is very good. Activity is rapidly increasing, and the newly-formed Regional Committee is now in full swing.

### Buckhaven and Methil

Two members recently attended an ARP meeting and thoroughly questioned the ARP officer who was speaking there. They

## MANIFESTO CAMPAIGN

Final details on

PAGE TWELVE

were politely treated as "the ladies" until the "Pacifist Pussy" crept out of the bag. As soon as the officer saw how the wind was blowing he announced that it was not a debate, and refused to answer another question from either of them.

ARP leaflets and copies of the Manifesto were distributed outside cinemas showing an ARP film.

## SOUTH

### Hampshire Region

THIS region of the PPU took the bull by the horns and invaded Aldershot for a public meeting on Thursday of last week. It was arranged as a follow-up of the tattoo poster parade demonstrations and was billed on posters, used in a parade round the town before the meeting, as "hear what the poster paraders have to say." About thirty people accepted the invitation and heard Mr. John Barclay deal with the question of pacifism in characteristic fashion. A number of questions were asked and the meeting was well worth while.

## WALES

### Colwyn Bay

THE manifesto campaign here has now passed its first stages. It was launched with a two-fold object—firstly, to dispel the ignorance of people regarding the purpose and policy of the PPU, and secondly, to establish groups in the districts covered by the campaign.

To a large extent the first object has been realized. Nine thousand copies of the manifesto have been distributed, over 24 poster size copies have been prominently displayed.

# RELAY POSTER PARADE ACROSS LONDON

By Don Leaney

NEXT Saturday (July 23) a long-distance poster parade will take place from South Croydon to Hampstead. Sandwich boards will be carried a distance of 15½ miles by relays of volunteers. The main object of the parade will be to advertise the Hyde Park demonstration on the following day.

It may be argued that such a parade would be of no greater value than a large number of small parades. But, as the special nature of the parade will be indicated by posters attached to the upper part of a double sandwich board, worn by the leader, it is hoped that the idea will strike the imagination of the public and prevent the effort from being "just another poster parade."

## VOLUNTEERS WANTED

The use of a car has been obtained for carrying a large supply of sandwich boards and leaflets. All that is now required is a large number of volunteers all along the route. Already three members have volunteered for the whole journey!

It is hoped that groups in the vicinity of any part of the route will make a special effort to supply volunteers for their part of the journey.

Members may enter or leave the parade at any of the places mentioned below. In order to keep to the time schedule, it will be necessary for volunteers to be at the various points at least ten minutes before the parade is due to pass.

Volunteers for the first stage of the route should meet in Ledbury Road, adjoining the Swan and Sugar Loaf and near South Croydon Station, at 2.20 p.m.

played, and in addition the manifesto has been published in full in the local press.

Enthusiasts are now depending on signatories in the district to help to bring about the other consideration, which can only be realized with their cooperation.

### Cardiff

Main exits of the Royal Show, which was held in Cardiff last week, were picketed by PEACE NEWS sellers.

Assistance is still required in connexion with the peace stall to be held at the Welsh National Eisteddfod, during the first week in August. Tuesday and Thursday especially, are days which require "filling in."

Offers of assistance should be sent to Mrs. Isabel M. Goodfellow, 3, Marlborough Road, Cardiff, and not Mr. J. M. Goodfellow as announced last week.

### Maesteg

Contacts have been made at Maesteg, Glamorganshire, where it is hoped to hold a public meeting in October to be addressed by Mr. Bishop, chairman of the PPU for Wales.

### Swansea

At a recent meeting of the West Wales Regional Committee Mrs. Goodfellow reported on the Wrexham conference.

Mr. Owen, of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, outlined details of a peace convention which he proposed holding in the town. It was unanimously decided to hold the convention on September 24.

There is now an active group in Ystergyllais, a small village in the Swansea Valley.

# Apply Now for the P.P.U. SUMMER CONFERENCE

Have you sent in for your application form for this year's summer conference?

No beds are left for the weekend, but some are still available for the period Tuesday to Friday, at a cost of 12s. There is still room for campers for the whole time.

Here are the particulars:

Place: Basque House, Langham, near Colchester.

Dates: July 29 to August 5.

Cost: 25s. for the week. 12s. weekend (or part time).

Accommodation: 70 beds in the house. Camping ground for 30 tents. A special invitation is made to anyone to bring tents and equipment and join the conference.

Cooking: Vegetarian and non-vegetarian food.

Conference: Lectures each morning and debates and discussion in the evenings. Among those who have agreed to speak are Sir Norman Angell, Kingsley Martin (Editor *New Statesman*), James Mylles (London Cooperative Society), and John Hayland.

Recreations: Tennis, Cricket Swimming, Walking, Social evenings (first and last). Play by Headquarters Drama Group.

Please write at once for application form to John Barclay, PPU, 96 Regent Street, W.I.

Don Leaney, who organizes the poster parades held from Headquarters every Saturday evening, sold sixty copies of PEACE NEWS on the parade held last Saturday.

The paper sold as it has never done since the Dick Sheppard Memorial Number.

The first part of the route follows the No. 16 tram route as far as Westminster, and the No. 153 bus route as far as Oval Station.

Details of the route follow:—

Depart Swan and Sugar Loaf ..	2.30 p.m. sharp.
Arrive West Croydon Station ..	2.55
" Thornton Road ..	3.22
" Norbury Station ..	4.0
" Streatham Station ..	4.25
" Streatham Hill Station ..	4.50
" Brixton Station ..	5.40
" Oval Station ..	6.10
" North Lambeth Station ..	6.40
" Westminster Station ..	6.53
" 96 Regent Street ..	7.15
Refreshments will be available.	
Depart 96 Regent Street ..	8.0
Arrive Tottenham Court Road Station ..	8.25
(The route now follows the No. 24 bus route to Camden Town.)	
Arrive Warren Street Station ..	8.40
" Mornington Crescent Stn. ..	8.58
" Camden Town Station ..	9.7
" Chalk Farm Station ..	9.13
" Underground ..	9.40
" Belsize Park Station ..	9.40
" Hampstead Station Und. ..	10.0

Names of those wishing to take part should be sent to me at 115 Palace Road, S.W.2, or to John Barclay at headquarters. It would be helpful if members would say which section of the road they are prepared to parade.



# UP THE GARDEN PATH

By  
BESOM

HAVE you heard of ARP? (asks a correspondent). Kidderminster did recently—great black out on the last night of the annual amusement fair. Here are some incidents, all but the last two coming from air raid wardens.

The decontamination squad rushed to the scene of a mustard-gas bomb, followed by a large crowd. At first the squad could not find the water hydrant, and when they found it they could not get the top off for some time. They eventually did get it off amid the applause and cheers of the crowd.

Then they could not turn the water on for some little time, and when the water did come it squirted all over the squad. More cheers from the crowd.

The squad forgot the urgency of the gas bomb and turned the hose on the crowd, drenching about thirty people. I expect more will be heard about this, as many had their clothes ruined.

A bomb was to be dropped outside a carpet factory, causing two casualties. The ARP chief in Kidderminster took the two casualties up to the spot in the ambulance, and there they waited; but no bomb came their way.

It was later found that the bomb had been "dropped" on the other side of the factory. The suggestion has been made that next time the ambulance, as well as taking its own casualties, takes its own bomb.

Two ARP wardens standing in an avenue saw a cyclist coming toward them. They drew back into the shadow of the hedge.

The cyclist dismounted by them, lit his "bomb" and threw it on the road; whereupon one of the hidden wardens stepped out from the shadows and said "Getcher."

The bomb-thrower dropped his bicycle and bolted. They may get this warden a long ladder and let him try this on bombing planes should they come over.

Two fires: at 1.30 a.m. one had not started. The fire brigade went to the spot unasked, having got tired of waiting for the call.

On arrival they found no one had applied the necessary patch.

So they lit it themselves, let it burn up, and then put it out.

Nice work. The other fire was cancelled, as the local fire brigade had to answer an earlier call and did not get back in time.

I think the situation was well summed up by a small child who said: "Black out? I calls it a wash-out."

## DANCE OF DEATH?

A display of acrobatics and tap-dancing by children wearing gas-masks was given in the front garden of the ARP shop at Nether Edge, Sheffield.

—Sheffield Telegraph.

## SPORTSMANLIKE

This will go to history as the Age of Sport (says an article in *The Tattler*). Nothing else in the world seems to matter. I have even heard it . . . that success in the Walker Cup . . . is partly responsible for the sudden demands in the newspapers to take old-fashioned methods with the gentlemen who are bombing so-called British ships.

## INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

When it was expected that the Non-Intervention Committee would decide on the re-establishment of control of the Pyrenean frontier, *Le Canard Enchaîné* "reported" that Italian proposed to send 80,000 controllers.

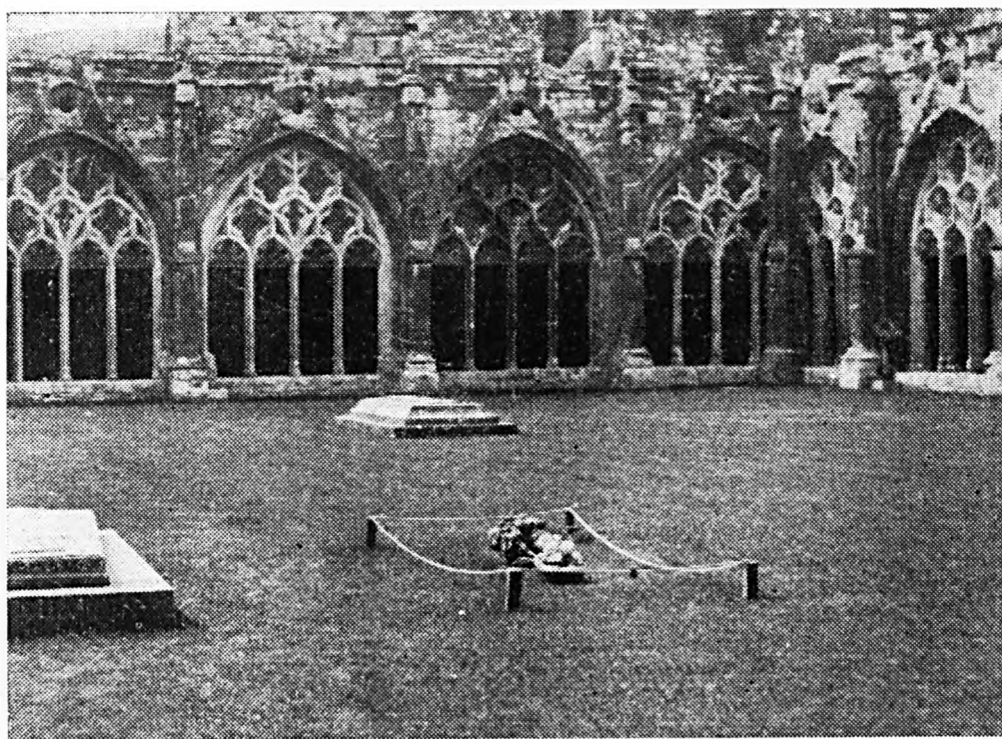
## THE HOUSE OF THE FUEHRER

According to *America*, the Bishop of Muenster, in Westphalia, preached in his cathedral about the influence of the Church on the education of youth.

Suddenly a uniformed Nazi stood up and exclaimed: *How can anybody talk about youth if he himself has neither wife nor child?*

The Bishop answered in a thundering voice: *In this house, I will allow no offensive remarks against the Fuehrer.*

## SENT BY A READER



THIS photograph showing—in foreground—Dick Sheppard's grave at Canterbury Cathedral was taken by a Harrow reader, Mrs. J. Robbins. The stone, part of which appears on the left of the picture, is on the grave of Archbishop Davidson. Have you a picture for PEACE NEWS?

## Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*,  
July 20, 1917

IN a few months the third year will be completed of this terrible and unexampled world war, for a speedy end of which we wish with a burning desire.

One thing is certain, that the victors in this bitter struggle are the pacifists. Our ideas, our desires, and aims are victorious all over the world . . . Our only weapon is the force of conviction, the power of the ideal; alas! the war has even wrecked this one. . . .

Great masses of prisoners of war of all nationalities being scattered over the greatest part of Europe and Asia, they are coming into contact with the respective populations . . . the greatest part of which is wishing for peace.

Thus the soldiers can convince themselves with their own eyes of the deep antipathy which is felt everywhere against the war, and of the strong feelings of fellowship and love among mankind. . . . It is extremely sad how the small but still powerful war party uses all possible means to raise and keep up hatred and animosity in public opinion.

—From the Hungarian Pacifist Society.

## Letter from the Editor

17, Featherstone Buildings,  
London, W.C.1.

THOUGH best known, and certainly most active, as Superintendent Minister of Whitefield's Central Mission Church, London, the REV. ALBERT DAVID BELDEN's activities have included a great deal of writing. (He begins, on page 7 this week, a series of articles under our "Speaking Personally" heading.)

Author of *Does God Really Care?* *God's Better Thing*, and *The Greater Christ*, he is also a frequent writer in the religious press of this and other English-speaking countries.

Other books of his include *The Religious Difficulties of Youth*, *The Harmony of Life*, *Talks on the Way to Live*, *The Boys and Girls of the Bible*, and *The Game of Life*.

DR. BELDEN has been at Whitefield's Tabernacle (as the "Central Mission Church" in Tottenham Court Road is generally known) since 1927. Another of his many books is about *George Whitefield, the Awakener*.

Before that he was for fifteen years minister of Crowstone Congregational Church, Westcliff-on-Sea—the first minister there, in fact.

### Dozens of Activities

IT must be tremendously difficult to minister to people's religious needs in a church in the middle of a place like London and to arouse sufficient interest in its activities to maintain it in its service.

If you have ever seen a picture of a City street on a Sunday (fewer people still have seen the desolation itself), you will know what I mean. It is true, of course, that Tottenham Court Road is not so deserted, but that district is not outside the area of London in which the great majority of the population are either office workers living somewhere else, or visitors in search of amusement.

Yet there are literally dozens of activities going on at Whitefield's at one time of the week or another, catering for an amazing variety of needs. There are even the services of experts in psychological advice available for both adults and children.

Another Central London Mission whose activities seem to be endless is the

Methodist West London Mission, of which DONALD SOPER is the Superintendent, with headquarters at Kingsway Hall. That covers a wider area, however.

It is significant that such arduous work produces such outstanding personalities in the various denominations of the Church. But it also shows what such men can do in the face of such difficulties.

I think it is true to say that the classic example of this was DICK SHEPPARD himself and the complete transformation he effected in the vitality of St. Martin's, in Trafalgar Square.

### Bruderhof's S O S for Helpers

THIS summer the members of the Cotswold Bruderhof are having to undertake a great deal of building, as they cannot possibly accommodate and cater for all the people who are now with them and who are wanting to join them in their colony at Ashton Keynes.

At the same time the local rural council is pressing them to join up with the main water supply and to begin to lay out an adequate drainage system.

All this is coming at a time when the garden and harvest are demanding all the extra men they have, and they simply haven't enough people to tackle the jobs in hand.

They would be glad to have people, either men or women, who would like to do some active work for part of their holidays, to help them. Starting this coming week, it is expected to go on till the end of September.

The usual work camp rate of 3s. 6d. a day is asked for. Here is a chance for real, active participation in the building up of a place where peace shall rule.

Offers or inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Cotswold Bruderhof, Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wiltshire.

### Products for Sale

A reader (W. JOHN BOND) who has visited the Bruderhof on two occasions has offered to help in the sale of their products from the lathe—bowls, bread boards, candle sticks, butter dishes, and the like.

He has a set of their samples which can be seen at his address in London, which is 104, Queen's Avenue, Church End, N.3. Alternatively, he can supply illustrated lists.

Mr. Bond is, of course, doing this strictly

on a voluntary basis to help this community.

### Organization Does It

A point that cannot be too strongly stressed in urging people to undertake poster parades is the importance of proper organization. There are lots of ways of doing it, but all require some degree of order about them. This applies in a specially literal sense to the parade that seeks to convey a particular message or leave some definite impression on the public.

For this purpose it is important to arrange your poster-bearers in such an order that the posters, read in succession, not only make sense as a whole, but constitute a connected "address" which all can read. The picture at the bottom of this page shows how Hornsey Peace Pledge Union did this recently.

### Progress

IN deference to a scientist's complaint that the title of my suggested "posters"—*The Progress of Science*—implies that scientists, rather than the employers of scientists, are to blame, I have called the last one just "Progress."

### Progress

**DR. CRIPPEN**  
murdered his wife and cut her  
into small pieces

**THE MODERN BOMB**  
combines the processes—and you  
need not even have been introduced  
to the victims

### Solution to Last Week's Crossword

P	A	R	L	E	Y	T	C	A	R	E	S	S
I	A	E	A	A	I	A						
L	D	I	S	A	R	A	M	E	N	T	D	
L	A	R	D	S	E	E	D	E	E	D		
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## Group Notes

By JOHN BARCLAY

## All Set for the Manifesto Campaign

THE enthusiasm shown in the preparations for the Manifesto campaign is sufficient guarantee that the campaign itself will be as great a success as we can make it.

Here are the final details of the evening meetings to be held on the route of the coach which will travel from Carlisle to London with its picked team of members:

**Tuesday, July 19: CARLISLE;** 8 p.m. The Cross. **Wednesday: MANCHESTER;** 8 p.m. Platt Fields (also NELSON at the same time).

**Thursday: STOKE-ON-TRENT;** 7.30 p.m.

**Friday: BIRMINGHAM;** 7.30 p.m. Bull Ring. 8 p.m. Handsworth, Lightwood, Calthorpe, Ward End, Small Heath, Pye Hayes, and Perry Parks.

**Saturday: AYLESBURY;** 7.30 p.m. Market Place.

**Sunday July 24: LONDON;** 3 p.m. Hyde Park.

Posters and leaflets advertising the Hyde Park demonstration are now ready. It would be a great help and would save money if all groups in London and the Home Counties would arrange to fetch their quotas from headquarters. Where this is not possible, however, order from me at once.

The speakers in Hyde Park will include George Lansbury, Stuart Morris, James Hudson, and Max Plowman.

### PROCESSION THROUGH LONDON

The greatest importance is attached to the procession that will accompany the coach through London to Hyde Park on Sunday. With banners, coloured ribbons, &c., we can make a display that will attract the eyes of hundreds of thousands of people on the last few miles of the coach's journey.

The coach will arrive at Tower Garage—junction of Watford By-Pass and Finchley Road—about 1.45 p.m. Cars and cycles should line up on the by-pass, facing London, at 1.15. Coloured ribbons for decorating cars and cycles can be had from 96 Regent Street at cost price.

Sellers of PEACE NEWS and other literature, and flag-bearers, who will be proceeding to Hyde Park on foot—and other walkers—should meet at Lord's cricket ground at 1.30 p.m.

Posters for the occasion should be ordered from headquarters as soon as possible.

### LOBBYING IN THE HOUSE

Each group is asked to send one representative to interview the local MP between 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. on Monday, July 25. This representative should go straight into the House, and fill up a card asking for the MP. Each representative should have with him a copy of the Manifesto.

On Saturday there will be a relay poster parade across London from Croydon to Hampstead. Further particulars about this are given on page ten.

### Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations:

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation.

The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be, obtained in the well-being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his govern-

ment to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

The maintenance of imperial interest and economic advantage for ourselves literally means that we are living at the expense of the people of other countries. It also necessitates domination, which makes peace impossible.

The Van Zeeland Report has been drawn up by a statesman appointed by the governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. Van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

When the causes are faced, a solution, which could both meet the needs of hungry nations, raise the standard of life and secure the rights of native peoples, will be found possible in other terms than those of war.

We urge that a new peace treaty should be drawn up, this time before another war begins, instead of after it, when hideous consequences must lead to increased hatred, increased revenge and renewed conflict—if, indeed, civilization survives.

### Meetings

T. Kaye Earnshaw, 29 Whittaker Avenue, Layton, Blackpool, would be pleased to hear from pacifists (speakers particularly) visiting Blackpool, who would like to assist at open-air meetings on the sands.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

West Norwood group will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Larcombe will speak on the WRI.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Owing to small numbers, the weekend at "Cromford Court," Matlock Bath, arranged by the East Midlands Area Committee for July 16 and 17, must be cancelled. Financial help to pay a deposit required in booking the house will be greatly appreciated. Please write to Norah North, 22 Hinckley Road, Forest East, Leicester.

Open-air meetings are now held on Tooling Bee Common every Sunday at 7 p.m., as well as on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

PPU open-air meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. on Whitfield's Mount, Blackheath, near Cricket Pitch.

### PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

At Durham Miners' Gala on July 23. Names to William Berry, 10 The Avenue, Durham City; Stanley Willy, 21 Fenham Road, Newcastle, 4; or Walter Summerbell, 8 Seaburn Close, Sunderland.

Letchworth.—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley 49 William Way, Letchworth.

Bristol.—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Tunbridge Wells.—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

Nottingham.—Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Hull.—Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at West Park Gates.

Blackheath.—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

### POSTER PARADES

More volunteers needed every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, and on the second and fourth Thursdays of every month at 7.15 p.m.

Long-distance relay poster parade, evening of July 23, from South Croydon to Regent Street, via Norbury, Streatham, Brixton and Kennington; groups interested, write Don Leaney c/o PPU, 96 Regent Street, W.1.

### MISCELLANEOUS

Many thanks to the PPU member who sent a postal order for 2s. 6d. in aid of the Basque children.

Four Basque boys between the ages of eleven and thirteen have not yet been invited to spend one week's holiday from July 29 to August 5 in a private house. Any offers should be sent to 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Young German—speaking some English—desires hospitality in England for about six weeks from July 29, in order to perfect knowledge of language. Willing to give lessons in German in return. Offers to War Resisters' International, 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex. There is now a service for the supply of literature at 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Orders received by noon on any day can be ready for collection at the above address after noon on the day following. The object is to save postage for people who cannot collect their supplies from Regent Street, but can do so from here.

Sheringham group hopes to start a Book Shop and Social Service Centre in the near future. Would anyone with a tiny income, willing to live on communal lines, like to join in this venture? Write to Miss Florence Kearney, Lavenham, North Street, Sheringham.

## PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.1

PHONE REGENT 2843

### "Things we want you to know"

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#### A USEFUL IDEA

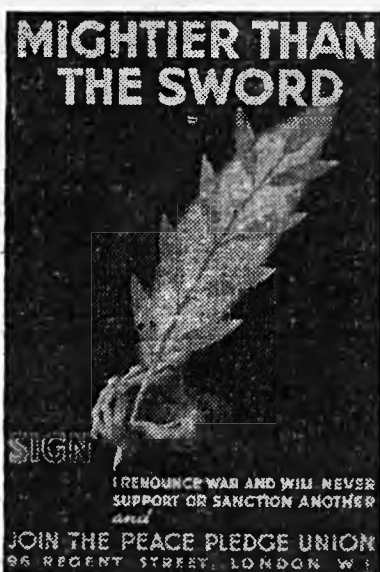
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Used in the following order  
FOR POSTER PARADES

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. War's New Target ...                           | No. 22 |
| 2. Mass murder is no defence of Liberty           | 13     |
| 3. Don't be misled by the word "DEFENCE" ...      | 6      |
| 4. The Bomber will always get through             | 2      |
| 5. You can't get Peace by preparing for WAR ...   | 7      |
| 6. Pacifism, the practical alternative to War ... | 8      |
| 7. JOIN THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION                    | 19     |

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# Dear Sir . . .

## MEUM OR TUUM?

I AM sorry my review of J. D. Beresford's *What I Believe* has not sent Mr. E. Foster to the book; for he could hardly have read it and retained the belief that the idea of God is a subject for chop-logic. "God is Love" is a fairly simple statement; but anyone who meditates upon it will not readily set out to prove that God is not mediated to man through his neighbour.

As William Blake said:  
God appears, and God is Light  
To those poor souls who dwell in Night;  
But does a Human Form display  
To those who dwell in realms of Day  
May I remind Mr. Foster that religion and morality are not synonymous and that he is therefore a little wide of the mark in advising Mr. Beresford and myself to "stick to pacifism and keep out of the moral realm in which they have no authority."

Neither of us, so far as I am aware, was (1) claiming authority of any kind, whether moral or religious, (2) discussing morality when the subject was religion, (3) attempting to disprove the truth that pacifism is primarily a matter of morality.

With those who believe that pacifism is a matter of reason, I am in agreement. I also agree with those who think it is a matter of faith. Mr. Foster knows "both cannot be right."

Personally, I am not terribly concerned with being right. I didn't become a pacifist in order to be right. Right or wrong, I wanted to be human, if possible. It isn't easy.

MAX PLOWMAN.

12 Woodside, Erskine Hill, N.W.11.

Under the above heading E. Foster criticizes both Max Plowman and J. D. Beresford. He says they should both "stick to pacifism and keep out of the moral realm in which they have no authority."

First, I should like to ask who has authority to enter the moral realm? Also, how can they "stick to pacifism and keep out of the moral realm?"

To Plowman and Beresford and thousands of others (probably 75 percent of the PPU) pacifism and the moral realm are absolutely bound up together.

PEACE NEWS must cater for the "moral" as well as the "rational" pacifists. Some of us are interested in both aspects. I am inclined to think that deep deep down there is not much difference between the two: just as there is no real difference between Beresford's *meum* and Plowman's *tuum*.

In that statement, I quite agree with

### HUMANISM

In reply to Mr. Housman (PEACE NEWS, July 2):

(a) It is probably true that, in practice, there is little difference between humanism and humanitarianism. But I still believe that there is a most important distinction in principle, whatever the Oxford Dictionary may say.

(b) Christianity suffers, perhaps more than in any other way, from the curious eclecticism of so many well-meaning people. This takes the form of seizing on the Sermon on the Mount, tearing it from its context in the whole gospel and presenting it as a summary of the Christian faith. This simply will not do. The gospel stands or falls as a whole.

Furthermore, the Sermon on the Mount contains little that was original. Parallels to much of it can be found in the teachings of many other religions. Parallels to almost all of it can be found in the Old Testament.

This sermon does not represent that which is distinctive in the Christian faith. That distinctiveness lies in the proclamation of the great, historic act of God in the redemption of the world.

The word of God, made flesh, the divine instrument of that redemption, did in fact take up the sentiments expressed in this sermon and gave them an authority they never had before. But that authority proceeds from Him; it is not in the words themselves.

(c) Mr. Housman says there is nothing in the sermon which a true humanist cannot accept. What about Matthew VI, 5-15? Why should a humanist ever want to pray, and to whom does he pray, if and when he does so?

(d) I would still contend that humanism constitutes a tremendous danger to the establishment of peace. If man is to try to bring about and to maintain, in his own

Foster. I have read enough of Beresford to know that his God is a God of love, and that E. finds this God (or spirit, or life-force—call it what you like) in himself and, in more or less degree, in every other human being. To him it is a tremendous power which has not yet realized or developed—a power in the physical, as well as in the mental and moral world.

E. GOODING.  
"Pineway," Foxhall Road, Ipswich.

In your issue of July 9 under the above heading, E. Foster cheerfully ascribes the word "bunk" to the beliefs of both J. D. Beresford and Max Plowman, cheerfully gives us his own belief, and equally cheerfully respectfully suggests "that Beresford and Plowman stick to their pacifism and keep out of the moral realm in which they have no authority," leaving readers a clear field in which to look to himself as "The Authority."

To use E. Foster's own words—"How delightfully simple. How marvellously helpful"! But is it either one or the other?

E. Foster tells us that:  
Beresford says "I am God."  
Plowman says "My neighbour is God."

Whereas Foster says "I am not a God to myself, neither is my neighbour my God. My neighbour is my brother, co-equal with me in the love and grace of God the Father."

I feel personally, that both Beresford and Plowman are talking out of their experience of life and of God, and that Foster is only definite in stating "what he and his neighbour are not," and still leaves one guessing as to what (if any) is the real faith of his experience.

Of the three credos suggested above, that of Max Plowman is the nearest to my own experience, and I would suggest to E. Foster that the only experience of God that it is possible for him to have in this world will be found by his personally answering to that of God in other men and women.

Middleton Murry has written of what Dick Sheppard said to him on the matter of faith. "Faith? I don't believe I know anything about faith. But Jesus is my God. I don't believe I know anything except that; but I have a love for men; somewhere in me I have love. I hang on to that."

Surely to help us in this difficult business of living, we should encourage as many as are willing to give their views on these matters, even if by their so doing it is taken as attempts to set up as would-be 'authorities.' After all, we can either accept or reject what is put forward.

FRANK B. MIDDLETON.  
114 Ickfield Way, Letchworth, Herts.

strength, a condition of peace, which the Christian gospel tells us can only be attained by man's acceptance of God's free gift, I believe the result will be more disastrous than any war has ever been.

As a Christian pacifist, I, for one, am on my guard against the substitution of anything less than the original for the Christian gospel of salvation.

H. A. WHITTINGHAM.  
The University, Liverpool.

Your correspondent E. Foster, rightly sums up the quandary in which humanist and rationalist alike find themselves in the attempt to discover, in man and man's reason, a moral authority adequate to guide and inspire the cause of pacifism.

It is unfortunate, however, that those who believe that man is the arbiter of his destiny tend more and more, by the prominence given their theories, to dominate and colour the outlook of PEACE NEWS. We have hardly finished with Plowman, Beresford, and Housman, when Lord Ponsonby goes out of his way to attack Christianity: "To counter this," (Jingoism) he writes, "quiet reasoning or a high religious appeal is utterly useless."

When Canon Sheppard founded the PPU, as Ponsonby admits, the foundation was definitely religious. We believe that it is still so, but the attempt is being made to include in one organization people who disagree fundamentally, even absolutely, upon the cause and motive behind their refusal to countenance or take part in war.

A little imagination would have prevented the inception of such a policy, since it is foredoomed to disaster. He who believes that man is the supreme moral authority of God, as revealed by Christ, cannot maintain for long even the semblance of unity, in any moral issue.

To lay aside essential motives and concentrate on pacifism alone, is impossible, and the attempt merely results in mutual

hypocrisy. We cannot serve two masters, God and man, and I respectfully suggest that the policy adopted by PEACE NEWS hitherto has favoured the impossible reconciliation.

WILLIAM E. KIRK.  
Tintern, 27 Greenhill Avenue, Giffnock, Glasgow.

### Politics

MR. Dyer has misunderstood what I said about political activity for pacifists—this is probably my fault.

Of course I agree with him that we should formulate alternative policies to those of the Government. We cannot, obviously, be prepared with cut-and-dried policies—the future may grow into quite unexpected patterns—but we can and must face up, in public as well as in private, to the practical problems that will inevitably attend the application of pacifist principles to international and national politics.

The point I wished to make was that we should attempt to convert the majority to such a policy by explanation and persuasion rather than by attacks and demands upon our opponents. The technique of propaganda is a very delicate one and the wrong emphasis laid upon the most correct promises may result not only in failure to convince, but in actually repelling possible supporters.

It follows that we must also beware of making isolated demands which would not in themselves be practical politics without other far-reaching reforms.

PHILIP S. MUMFORD.  
Farley Green Farm, Albury, near Guildford, Surrey.

Philip Mumford's appeal for "normality" among pacifists is welcome. Pacifists are at present regarded by the general public as cranks. It is therefore important for us to show that in all other respects we are normal people; for, in this way, pacifism will be gradually accepted as a sane and normal belief.

So long as pacifism seems inextricably bound up with vegetarianism, teetotalism, anarchism, nudism, and other (equally genuine) "isms," so long will a severe handicap be placed in the way of its general acceptance.

As one who loathes conventions I write this with reluctance.

A. C. G.

### COMMUNITY

I do not want to be unduly critical of friend Barclay's employment bureau scheme, or to deny that some good service might be rendered, but my mind, whenever I hear of a pacifist being victimized, turns to the community idea as a means of salvation.

I would therefore suggest that PPU groups seriously consider how to make it more and

more possible for the victims of orthodox capitalistic society to find economic security—the basic need of all humans—in a new fraternity, the embryo of the new social order.

Fast experience, as well as considered economic theory, is dead set against this utopianism, yet somehow it will persist.

We cannot get away from the achievement of the cooperative movement, or the famous ILP bakery in Bermondsey, the ILP book works at Nottingham, and now the Jewish communities in Palestine and the many ventures here in England.

After all, why wait for the slow action of the State? Why not organize the collective power of the people so that they can establish for themselves an ideal economic basis?

I would suggest the organizing of permanent peace shops where PPU literature could be always before the public—also literature dealing with social questions and comparative religion, and, of course, as a side line, stationery.

Then in another department, we could sell the products; both food, clothing, furniture, and other articles, that the communities could supply. This would meet their greatest need—a regular market for their products.

This would need capital, but it could be provided by asking those interested (and I feel there would be a large number) to subscribe £1 shares.

I have worked out a plan for a portable greenhouse which has been approved as a sound proposition by a well-known engineering expert. This, together with another invention, I would offer to any community prepared to consider its acceptance.

Apart from the above I can supply two new table games, which could be produced ready for next winter, and orders for which might be obtained from the Cooperative Societies, and, of course, our trading centres when organized.

I believe there are great possibilities in the voluntary association but not necessarily as an alternative to State action.

A. MAYO REDDING.  
Knollsea, 86 Ross Road, S.E.25.

### THE GOVERNING CLASSES

May I submit an appropriate quotation from *Social Environment and Moral Progress* by the late Alfred Russel Wallace, published in 1913 (page 74):

War has always been more or less chronic since the rise of the Roman Empire, but there is now undoubtedly a disinclination for war among all civilized peoples. Yet the vast burden of armaments, taken together with the most pious declarations in favour of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality as a guiding principle among the governing classes. In this respect, the increasing power of Labour parties all over the world seems to afford the only hope of a real moral advance.

In a letter by Mr. H. Parker, PEACE NEWS, July 2, I read "Those statesmen who are seeking to guide affairs at home do not represent the England that is to be." Truly the leopard is slow to change his spots.

J. O. M. PARKER.  
17 Judge's Walk, Norwich.

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A recent ARP recruiting campaign in Wallington, Surrey, of which this anti-gas decontamination display was a part, was used by the local Peace Pledge Union group as a splendid opportunity for peace propaganda.

## DIARY OF THE WEEK

- July
- 16 (Sat.) **TAUNTON**; 2.30 p.m. French Weir Playing Fields; peace rally; George Lansbury, Dr. A. Salter, Rev. P. Hartill, and Laurence Housman (chairman); Wessex Pacifist Council.
- BIDEFORD**; 3 p.m. The Quay; caravan campaign; PPU.
- BOURNEMOUTH**; 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; meet for poster parade; PPU.
- TONBRIDGE**; 7 p.m. Angel Corner; open-air meeting; John Barclay and others; PPU.
- MORPETH**; 7 p.m. open-air meeting at Miners' Gala; William Berry; PPU.
- BRADWORTH**; 7.30 p.m. The Square; caravan campaign; PPU.
- 17 (Sun.) **EPSOM**; 3 p.m. Croft House, College Road; garden meeting to meet Mrs. Plowman, Max Plowman, and John Barclay; PPU.
- OTLEY**; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Horsforth PPU group.
- BRISTOL**; 8 p.m. St. Andrew's Park; open-air meeting; E. Humphries, W. J. Parkin, Kenneth Greet, and Wilfred Harvey (chairman); PPU.
- SPARKHILL** Park, Birmingham; 8 p.m. Wilfred Wellock and Rev. P. D. L. Chatterton; PPU.
- 18 (Mon.) **UPPER PARKSTONE**, Dorset; 7 p.m. Edward Road (near Regal Cinema); open-air meeting; University Pacifist Federation.
- 19 (Tues.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. Luther W. Stalnaker on "Anglo-American Understanding"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

For Manifesto Campaign meetings, see page 12. Details of relay poster parade across London, page 10.

- LONDON, W.C.1**; 7 p.m. London Welsh Association Hall, Grays Inn Road; Rev. Nevill Sayre; London Union of F.O.R.
- BOURNEMOUTH**; 7 p.m. Kemp Road, Winton; open-air meeting; University Pacifist Unit.
- BOURNEMOUTH**; 8 p.m. corner of Charnister Road and Shelbourne Road; open-air meeting; University Pacifist Unit.
- BAYSWATER**; 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; Susan Anthony on "America and Peace"; PPU.
- 20 (Wed.) **BOURNEMOUTH**; 7 p.m. Meyrick Road, Lansdowne; open-air meeting; University Pacifist Unit.
- BOURNEMOUTH**; 8 p.m. Fisherman's Walk, West Southbourne; open-air meeting; University Pacifist Unit.
- KINGSWAY**; 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.
- 21 (Thurs.) **LONDON, E.C.4**; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Theodore Faithfull on "The Financial System and War"; City PPU group.
- LONDON, E.C.4**; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Miss Wray on "Missions and Peace"; City PPU group.
- CROYDON**; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane; Nigel Spottiswoode on "The Van Zeeland Report"; United Peace Council.
- 22 (Fri.) **LEICESTER**; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Mrs. Mary Powley (USA), Douglas Ashby (Germany), and Eric Swift (France) on "Pacifists Abroad"; Christian Pacifist Fellowship.
- HASLEMERE**; 8 p.m. "Three Limes," High Street; Miss Susan Anthony on "Pacifism in America"; PPU.
- 23 (Sat.) **DURHAM**; 2 p.m. open-air meeting at Miners' Gala; James H. Hudson and other PPU speakers; further details from William Berry, 10 The Avenue, Durham City.
- MANCHESTER**; 2.30 and 6.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; area meeting; Canon Stuart Morris; further particulars from H. L. Kirkley, PPU Office, 41 John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- 23-29 (Sat.-Fri.) **MATLOCK BATH**; Cromford Court; summer conference; subject, "The Kingdom and its Relationships"; particulars from the General Secretary, F.O.R., 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- 24 (Sun.) **HYDE PARK**; 3 p.m. manifesto campaign demonstration; George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris, James H. Hudson, and Max Plowman; PPU.
- OTLEY**; 7.30 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Keighley PPU group.
- SEVERN BEACH**, near Bristol; 7.30 p.m. open-air meeting; PPU.

## Record Number of Radio Listeners to Peace Talks SO B.B.C. PLANS NEW SERIES

JUDGED by the number of listening groups set up, which reached a record of 461, no series of talks broadcast by the BBC has been more popular than that entitled "The Way of Peace."

In many cases the formation of these listening groups was due to the initiative taken by PPU members.

Encouraged by this display of interest in international affairs, the BBC has planned a new series of talks, entitled "The Mediterranean," to begin on October 6. The talks will be given in the National programme from 8.30 to 9 p.m. on Thursdays.

Subjects will include: "Italy and her African Possessions"; "Spain and Spanish Morocco"; "The Adriatic"; "Egypt and the Suez Canal"; and "Air Power and its effect on the Mediterranean situation." Speakers' names have not yet been announced.

### BRITAIN'S "MORALE"

In a letter to the Association of British Chamber of Commerce, Mr. B. E. Nicholls, Controller of Programmes, has explained the BBC's plan for broadcasting industrial news bulletins as follows:

Apart from military morale, so to speak, we felt that a good deal might be done toward giving our listeners a better idea of the standing of this country in the field of industrial and other similar achievements.

The suggested bulletins would probably be broadcast weekly, and in them the BBC would not adhere to the policy adopted hitherto of not broadcasting names of firms.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THE EUROPEAN SITUATION

The Rev. Nevill Sayre, chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation has been campaigning for ten weeks on behalf of peace in Europe.

On his way home through London to America, he will give some of his impressions at the London Welsh Association Hall, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1, at 7 p.m. on Tuesday. Tickets of admission (6d. each) include light refreshments, and can be obtained from the Secretary of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

### CHILDREN'S FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

The address of the secretary (Mr. M. Jagger), of the European and International Children's Friendship League, referred to in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago, is 15 Wilson Road, Blackley, Manchester, 9.

## COMING SHORTLY

- July
- 26 (Tues.) **LONDON, N.W.1**; 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. Louis Clinton Wright on "Anglo-American Understanding"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
- 31 (Sun.) **BRISTOL**; 8 p.m. St. Andrew's Park; L. O. Brown, Leslie Wills, E. Humphries, and Reginald Wallis (chairman); PPU.
- August
- 7 (Sun.) **MORECAMBE**; 8.30 p.m. Royalty Theatre; Canon Stuart Morris, Nigel Spottiswoode, and Rev. F. F. Pepper (chairman); PPU; reserved seats (6d. each) obtainable from F. Hellowell, Hatlex Drive, Hest Bank.

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## POINTS for the PLATFORM

### R.A.F.: Men—

DURING the second week of the RAF's recruiting campaign for 31,000 more pilots, observers, airmen, and boys before next April, 6,015 inquiries were made (airmen, 4,447; boys, 802; pilots, 639; observers, 127).

Of the 4,447 who inquired regarding entry as airmen, 1,498 have already applied for admission, and 618 have been drafted to the RAF reception depot.

### —and Money

HANDLEY FAGE, Ltd., manufacturers of bombers and other aircraft, doubled their ordinary share capital six months ago, by the issue of a 100 percent bonus.

Now shareholders are to receive a 20 percent dividend, tax free, on their increased capital, and another capital bonus of 50 percent is to be distributed.

This dividend is thus equivalent to 40 percent, tax free, on the shares which they originally bought.

It is the second time in little more than six months this concern has issued a capital bonus. The present dividend comes out of profits totalling £210,126. For the preceding year profits were £100,180.

### Where the Money Comes From

WITH such profits being made from the manufacture of armament, it is clear that something must suffer. Speaking in Parliament the week before last, Mr. J. C. Wedgewood pointed out that the latest Budget was £200,000,000 greater than any previous budget, and five times greater than the last Budget before the War. In addition, heads of the three Services were bringing forward greatly increased programmes to be met by 1945. When these had to be repaid, there would be an outcry for economy, and Mr. Wedgewood added, "When that time comes the social services will suffer—unemployment benefit, health, education, and the rest. Compare the education of a child with the building of a battleship. How can you estimate what a child may contribute during its life to the well-being of the State? It is infinite, and the wealth of a country is the life of its children, but the best thing you can hope of a battleship, or any armament, is that it will never be any use at all."

If we go on as we are it will not be long before the pinch comes; the sharp knife of economy will be applied and the social services will suffer.

### SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement

### SITUATIONS

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE for Peace and Freedom, Manchester and District Branch.—Wanted in September, Woman organizer, good speaker, with initiative, able to organize peace work and take charge of office. Apply immediately by letter, stating age, qualifications, and salary required to The Hon. Secretary, 1 Princess Street, Manchester, 2.

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## BRITISH PLAN FOR SPAIN

### More than 5 months To Withdraw Volunteers

#### ESTABLISHING RIGHT OF BLOCKADE

THE British plan for the withdrawal of foreign combatants from Spain was issued as a White Paper on Monday night. Following are its most important provisions:

The first item is the resolution by which the 26 non-intervention countries (who have already adopted the plan) would reaffirm and extend the Non-Intervention Agreement, and providing for "the grant in certain circumstances of belligerent rights to the two parties in Spain and for the observation of the Spanish frontiers by land and sea."

#### PRESENT OBLIGATIONS

Under this resolution the nations would agree that

Those obligations under the original agreement which dealt with foreign volunteers proposing to take part in the Spanish conflict shall be extended "to cover the departure from, and the transit through, their respective countries of persons whose activities in Spain would be in any way susceptible of prolonging or embittering the present conflict"; and that

Other existing obligations shall be extended "b" prohibiting the carriage from any port to Spanish ports by ships having the right to fly the flags of their respective countries of arms or war material, the export of which to Spain is prohibited under the Non-Intervention Agreement."

The remainder of the White Paper consists of an Annex, in seven main parts, setting out how the above resolution shall be made effective.

#### WITHDRAWAL

The first three parts mainly reaffirm previous definitions of "contraband" and "volunteer." In part 4 begin the details of withdrawal. Following are the chief points from these details:

#### Counting Commissions

These will consist of three persons appointed by the unanimous vote of the International Committee.

There will be two commissions; each will be responsible for the evacuation of volunteers from one portion of Spain.

#### Evacuation Areas

These are areas to which volunteers will be removed before counting. They will be established in the vicinity of Palamos, Carthagena, Malaga, and Cadiz.

#### Rate of Evacuation

If the numbers of foreign volunteers on each side are equal, each Spanish party will each day hand over 1,000 volunteers to the commission concerned, and 500 will be transferred to each of the two Evacuation Areas in the portion of Spain concerned.

If, however, the numbers on each side are unequal the numbers to be handed over daily by each side will be:

- By the party with which the smaller number is serving, 1,000 volunteers (500 to each Evacuation Area);
- By the party with which the larger number is serving, such number in excess of 1,000 as will make the number to be handed over daily in the same ratio to 1,000 as its total of volunteers is to that of the other side.

#### Time-Table

A rigid time-table, to which particular importance is attached, has been drawn up. It begins at the "Zero date" on which the resolution is finally adopted, and is as follows:

- 1st to 45th days:—Period required for (a) commissions to go to Spain and prepare their reports and for the International Committee to approve their reports, and simultaneously therewith for (b) the Board to bring into existence the Evacuation Areas and the machinery required to carry through the withdrawal operation (45 days).
- 46th day:—First daily quota is drafted into Evacuation Areas.
- 51st day:—First drafts embarked for home.
- 100th day:—The day by which the evacuation (sick and wounded and prisoners of war excepted) is to be completed.
- 101st to 135th days:—Period required for transfer from Evacuation Areas of sick and wounded foreign volunteers and prisoners of war and all women foreign volunteers.
- 142nd day:—Final date for the closing of the Evacuation Areas.
- 147th day:—Date of closing of the three branch establishments (Spanish possessions and dependencies).
- 101st to 149th days:—Period required by commission to verify that no foreign volunteers

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## PERMANENT COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH REFUGEES

### England's Conscience

FROM the last article, entitled "I Appeal to the Conscience of the World," by Otto Bauer, Austrian socialist leader, published in the "News Chronicle" last week, shortly after his death:

We must not admit that this problem of giving 300,000 Austrian Jews a chance to build a new life abroad is insoluble. The famous resettlement of Greeks, Armenians, and Assyrians which took place after the Great War is a sufficient proof that such problems can be solved. The number of successful European emigrants to the USA before the Great War was not less than 800,000 to 900,000 per annum.

The number of Austrian Jews who are now faced with destitution is, in fact, considerably smaller than was the number of emigrants to the USA in any pre-war year.

In other words, the problem can be solved. The whole question is whether or not governments can be induced to settle this problem on the grounds of simple humanity even when no profits or imperialist interests are involved.

I know to what extent people are tired of hearing of the sufferings in fascist States. I know, also, how small is the prospect that help for the victims will be forthcoming. Nevertheless, it is a simple duty of all of us not to tire in our efforts to bring help to the latest victims of fascism and to appeal again and again to the conscience of the world.

From the "Daily Express," July 4:

British doctors, through their organization, the British Medical Association, are to meet Home Office officials early this week to discuss the problem of the 190 foreign doctors, refugees from Germany, now practising in England.

They feel that, with 59,000 doctors in practice in the British Isles and the universities and medical schools turning out hundreds more every year, there is no room for more refugee doctors.

It is likely that a Home Office suggestion to admit a further thirty refugees from Austria will be contested.

remain unevacuated and to prepare final reports.

150th day:—Commissions withdraw.

151st to 156th days:—Consideration of final reports of commissions by International Committee and decision that the scheme has been fully carried out.

157th day:—Disbandment of the commissions.

164th day:—Completion of withdrawal operation.

#### Repatriation

After establishing the means by which the number of volunteers on each side would be estimated, the plan lays down the method of repatriation.

Combatants would first be kept in camps and would then be taken (according to nationality) to London, Hamburg, Lisbon, Marseilles, or Genoa, whence they would be distributed to countries of origin.

#### FINANCE

Financial arrangements are grouped into four main funds to cover cost of observation, withdrawal, maintenance of volunteers, and transport.

#### BELLIGERENT RIGHTS

The governments authorize the Non-Intervention Committee

To place on record their opinion that "the arrangements for the withdrawal of foreign nationals are working satisfactorily, and that this withdrawal has, in fact, made substantial progress"; and

To notify both Spanish parties that it is recognized that both parties possess a status which justifies them in exercising belligerent rights at sea;

when 10,000 volunteers have been evacuated from whichever side has the smaller number of volunteers (and a correspondingly larger number from the other side).

#### Right to Stop Ships

Although belligerent rights would permit both sides to stop and inspect ships, they will undertake to allow unimpeded passage to and from Spanish ports of ships having the right to fly the flag of any of the non-intervention countries, where such ship has an Observing Officer on board, or has been granted a certificate in lieu thereof.

#### Right to Blockade

There is an important exception, however, in the case of ships "engaged either in unneutral service or in breach of a blockade which has been duly notified and effectively maintained." If, after being ordered not to proceed to the port situated within the blockaded portion of coast, such a ship nevertheless attempts to proceed to such a port, the naval forces of the Spanish party concerned will be entitled to treat the ship as engaged in breach of blockade.

It is also made clear that belligerent rights, when accorded, may be exercised by the use of warships or aircraft over

(continued in col. 3)

## Would Have Great Opportunity—but Governments Remain Cautious

CHIEF among the proposals put before the Conference on Refugees at its opening session in Evian last week was that for the setting up of a Permanent Commission of Collaboration, composed of diplomatic representatives, which, was expected to be approved at yesterday's meeting.

This suggestion was put forward by Mr. Myron Taylor, United States representative, who was elected president of the conference.

He also suggested that discussions might need to be limited to the problem of refugees from Austria and Germany, while Lord Winterton, the British representative, made it clear that so far as the British Government was concerned measures of assistance must be confined to Austrian and German refugees—a point which gave rise to criticism from Jewish quarters.

Lord Winterton also insisted on the limited extent to which cooperation could be given by Great Britain, or the British Colonies and Dominions.

The British Government, he said, had no intention of abandoning their traditional policy of granting asylum to refugees in so far as this could be accorded by a highly industrialized country with its own unemployment problem. He also announced the Government's intention to ratify the convention drafted by the League's refugee organization, and to extend it to refugees from Austria.

#### FIVE-POWER COMMISSION IN LONDON?

On Friday last sub-committees began to work out the details of the various proposals before the conference. One sub-committee was to receive confidential statements from the participating governments, and another was to deal with the memorandum submitted by various voluntary organizations.

At the same time, negotiations were taking place between Britain and the USA

(continued from col. 2)

ships at sea only in accordance with the rules governing such exercise.

#### OBSERVERS

After laying down the methods of frontier and sea observation, the plan records the agreement of the governments, "in principle," that "there should be established a system of air observation over the Spanish frontiers, if, on further investigation, it be found possible to evolve such a system which would be practicable and effective as regards both sea and land frontiers."

As a preliminary it is agreed to appoint two Air Staff Officers.

## Spanish Unions Reject Mediation

An assurance of the continued resistance of Republican Spain, and an appeal for help was contained in a message sent by the powerful trade union federation of Spain (UGT) to the British Trades Union Congress. The message also rejected the idea of mediation.

for the setting up of a permanent commission in London, instead of the Paris Commission originally proposed, and not very favourably received. The London Commission would consist of representatives of Britain, the USA, France, Argentina and Brazil.

One of the tasks before this commission would be the opening of discussions with Germany in order to obtain greater facilities for refugees to leave that country.

As to the conference itself, *The Times* reported on Saturday that

it is rapidly becoming evident that the conference cannot be anything more than a preliminary body for surveying the ground for action that may be later achieved by the more permanent body to be set up.

It was also suggested that "had the inviting Power [the USA] come forward with concrete suggestions some result might have been easily achieved."

#### WHAT MIGHT BE DONE

The atmosphere of the conference improved, however, following a review of the situation made by Sir Neill Malcolm, High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany and Austria, at the plenary session on Saturday.

Sir Malcolm thought there was little chance of large-scale settlement being carried through in any of the overseas countries. It would be easier for the Dominions and other countries to receive large numbers of aliens if they were introduced as individuals capable of finding occupation and becoming assimilated.

Infiltration was therefore likely to produce better results than mass migration.

He indicated how the permanent body could assist by placing money, raised by loans from governments, at the disposal of organizations able to settle refugees.

The real difficulty, said Sir Malcolm, was to find asylum for the less well-educated masses who ought to leave Europe.

There was a very great opportunity for the proposed committee, which would have behind it the enormous prestige of the President and people of the United States. It might induce the German Government to adopt a more liberal policy in matters of money and property, and give financial assistance to private organizations which had already done so much.

In time it might even undertake schemes of large-scale emigration and settlement, which were at present impossible.

Meanwhile the attitude of most of the governments represented has been summed up as

sympathy with the aims of the conference, the claim to have pursued as liberal a policy as anyone else, the willingness to continue to do so, subject to essential restrictions, but also the determination not to permit mass migration that would dislocate labour markets or establish a particularist community.

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# PEACE NEWS

July 16, 1938

## Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

Committees in Whitehall are now at work to investigate the various possibilities of counteracting German economic penetration in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece. Turkey is exceptional and has already been dealt with last May by means of three agreements, one of which was the munitions supply agreement.

The other countries sell more than they buy in this country and different means will have to be found whereby they will be "saved from German attempts at economic strangulation." It seems that this country will have to make special efforts to purchase these countries' agricultural and mineral products.

It is now a race between the Germans completing some economic arrangements in south-east Europe, which may include a Danubian customs union, and the Anglo-French policy of deliberately preventing this by special measures such as armament loans, credit facilities and special purchasing.

There is a great deal to be said for governments helping legitimate trade development; but when it is aimed at a deliberate exclusion of a country with a large and vigorous population, without colonial outlet and already hampered by the closing of the British Empire, this must sooner or later lead to very serious international friction and in the end war.

We may talk of political appeasement, but the policy being now pursued by the Anglo-French entente is economic war of the most vicious kind.

### INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS

MOST civil wars tend to lead to international complications and the Spanish civil war has been no exception. To minimize the dangers the so-called Non-Intervention Committee representing 27 nations, was set up and this has now produced a scheme for the withdrawal of foreign troops from both sides. This scheme is now before the two contending authorities, and if it is accepted by them, it may end the dangerous international complications which have followed one another as the war has progressed.

The most significant feature of the war, apart from its political aspects, is that it has become an experimental workshop in which the latest instruments of war can be tested and tried out.

The bombing of merchant shipping represents a new form of blockade which has created another problem in international law. So far all the British Government seems able and willing to do is to send ineffectual protests to the insurgent authorities against the bombing of ships carrying the British flag. No decision has been reached in this question, which may have to be decided by an international conference.

### CHINA—FIRST YEAR OF WAR

OUT of respect to her treaty obligations and the Kellogg Pact, Japan has refrained from declaring war on China. It is, however, one year since Japan opened hostilities in China and she celebrated the anniversary "with solemnity rather than elation."

Japan had expected an easy task in subduing the Chinese people to her will but she finds now that to all intents and purposes her army is immobilized within China.

The burden of the war will be felt to an ever-increasing extent by the Japanese people. Restrictions have already been imposed on many essential commodities including clothing, transport, heat and lighting.

In the meantime the Japanese Prime Minister insists that there can be no dealings with the Chinese National Government and that mediation by foreign Powers to this end is useless.

### LABOUR CONSCRIPTION IN GERMANY

WHILE the problem of unemployment is looming ever larger in this country, the problem of labour shortage has reached acute stages in Germany. Though labour conscription is not to be enforced harshly, other means are being devised whereby the labour shortage can be made up.

Arrangements have now been made

with the Dutch and Polish authorities whereby the unemployed from those countries are to be provided with work in Germany, paid half in their own currency and half in German marks.

In Holland it has even been made a rule that unemployment benefit will be disallowed if this work in Germany is refused. In addition Germany has combed her prison population for workers suitable in the steel mills, brickfields and quarries.

The fact of labour conscription in Germany is now being used as an ugly threat against the trade unions to speed up their decisions on the "dilution" of labour in the armament industries. If there was no unemployment in this country, the question would be entirely different.

### BOOM IN BOMBERS

WAR has again become the finest gilt-edged investment. One aircraft firm last week showed what patriotism means to high finance. Handley Page, Ltd., announced that net profits in 1937 were more than doubled at £210,126 as compared with £100,181 for 1936.

The ordinary stock which increased last December by a 100 percent bonus received ten percent less tax as an interim dividend on the pre-bonus capital. The final dividend is twenty percent tax free on the increased capital with another fifty percent bonus. We can be pretty certain that the whole extent of the profits have not been revealed by these figures.

In the last war, official statistics show that fifty percent of the total financial cost of the war of £10,000,000,000 went in tax free profits. By the return to the pre-war gold standard demanded by financiers, the value of these war profits was doubled.

In the twenty years since the war, tribute has been paid to the war financier equivalent to something like £250 a year for every British soldier who was killed.

The economic and financial policies pursued to safeguard the benefits of war finance is one of the main causes of the tragic condition of the world today with its lack of general purchasing power in face of the immense productive capacity.

If ever there was a generation ours is the one that should know of the moral corruption which war finance entails. Now we are back again to the evils of war finance without even the excuse of war pressure.

This is despite the pledge Mr. Baldwin made when in May 1935 he announced that the British Air Force would be trebled and when he said "the whole Government is determined that...there shall be no profiteering in a time which I may almost call a time of emergency." That is now all forgotten.

The case above given is but one of many who deal in the instruments of death and who have found a gold mine in the general sense of insecurity of our over-taxed people.

### PALESTINE

THE British Government is compelled to send troops to Palestine to maintain law and order. Conditions there are steadily getting worse now that some of the Jewish sections have failed to maintain their usual restraint in the face of Arab provocation.

Whatever settlement is ultimately arrived at, it will be dependent upon the Jews and Arabs being prepared to live together. This will become more and more difficult as the outrages increase in ferocity.

The Palestine problem is more intricate and complex than even the Irish problem was, and the international repercussions may be more dangerous to British imperial interests. The Jews stand to lose most by the continuance of the present troubles for which the extreme Zionists cannot be held completely blameless.

To give the Arabs the impression that their future in Palestine under Jewish domination is to be not unlike the future of the Jews in Germany is bound to lead to Arab unrest.

There can be little comfort for the Jews in charging the British Government with bad faith if that Government modifies the prospects of the National Home in an endeavour to reconcile the irreconcilable promises it made to Arabs and Jews just over twenty years ago.



Members of the Willesden group of the Peace Pledge Union who took part in the local cottage hospital carnival. As reported on page 10 last week, the group entered a tableau with which they won first prize.

## "Complaint" against Scouts who Joined Procession

### CARRIED "UNITE FOR PEACE" SLOGANS

THE Scoutmaster of the 164th North London Scout troop has received a letter from the District Commissioner complaining of the action of Rover Scouts in taking part in a peace demonstration held by the Wood Green & Southgate Peace Council.

The commissioner is apparently under the impression that they carried communist banners. The only slogan actually carried by those who took part was "Unite for Peace."

The participation of Scouts in the demonstration has formed a subject of controversy in the local press.

A number of those who took part are members of the Peace Pledge Union.

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